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ABSTRACT

Reports of language research in the 1996 issue include: "Corpus Planning for the Southern Peruvian Quechua Language" (Serafin M. Coronel-Molina); "Foreign Language Planning in U.S. Higher Education: The Case of a Graduate Business Program" (Mitchell A. Furumoto); "Charting New Directions: Of Communication in a Social Service Setting" (Craig Heim); "Appropriacy Planning: Speech Acts Studies and Planning Appropriate Models for ESL Learners" (Mitsuo Kubota). Reports in the 1997 issue include: "Tradition and Transition in Second Language Teaching Methodology" (Teresa Pica); "Cultural Consciousness in a Language Class" (Hiamanti Banerjee); "Language Policy: Status Planning for the Quechua Language in Peru" (Coronel-Molina); "Politeness Strategies in the Workplace: Which Experiences Help Japanese Businessmen Acquire American English Native-Like Strategies?" (Yuko Nakajima); and "Who Is Telling Stories and Whose Stories Are Being Told?" (Anne Pomerantz). An index to 1984-1997 issues of the journal and abstracts of 1996-97 doctoral dissertations done for the Language in Education Division (LED) of the University of Pennsylvania are also included. (MSE)

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

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Dear WPEL readers,

It is a pleasure to present you with our latest issue of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* from the Language in Education Division of the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education. As always, we offer outstanding "working" contributions in educational linguistics from our students and faculty.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication in the top journals in our field. Most recently, a version of the article **What Can Second Language Learners Learn from Each Other? Only their Researcher Knows for Sure** by Teresa Pica, Felicia Lincoln-Porter, Diana Paninos, and Julian Linnell (vol. 11, no. 1) went on to appear in *TESOL Quarterly* and received its 1996 Best Research Article award.

In this issue:

Serafín Coronel-Molina examines the case of corpus planning for the Quechua language in Peru.

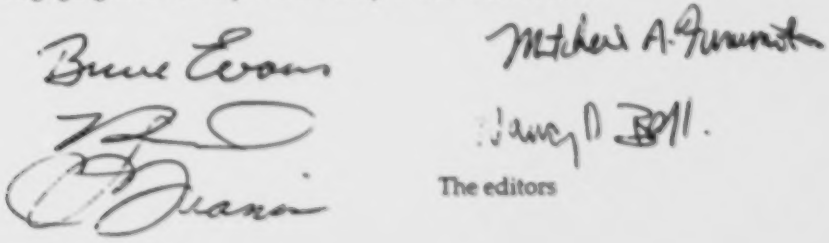
Mitchell Furumoto presents the case of a graduate program in management and international studies to consider foreign language acquisition cultivation planning in U.S. higher education.

Craig Heim employs microethnographic methods to analyze the interaction between a welfare caseworker and a client.

Mitsuo Kubota critically investigates the creation and use of appropriate language models for TESOL in light of language planning theories for what he has termed appropriacy planning.

In addition to our advisor, Julian Linnell, we gratefully ackknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: the authors, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, Penny Creedon, Suzanne Oh, and William Brickman.

We hope that you find the following selected contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.



The editors

Corpus Planning for the Southern Peruvian Quechua Language

Serafín M. Coronel-Molina

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This paper presents a case study of corpus planning in a multilingual country. It begins with a discussion of multilingualism in general, and then moves to the specific case of Southern Quechua in Peru. The paper treats such issues as the graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation of Quechua, in the face of ever-increasing domination by the Spanish language. I present outlines of the efforts of the three major groups of linguists and other national and international scholars working on corpus planning in Peru, and the successes and pitfalls these various groups have encountered and/or created in their work. I conclude with an argument for greater collaboration between these groups, and a reiteration of the need to revalorize the Quechua language both within the Quechua population which speaks it, and within the dominant Spanish speaking population.

Kichwanchik pulun allpanawlaqmi kaykan.
¿Imaylaqtra tuki talpuy traklaqnaw likalinqa?
"Our Quechua is still barren soil. When will it become a fertile land for sowing the seeds [of new knowledge]?"
-R. Cerrón-Palomino

Linguistic rights has become a focus of attention in recent years. For example, in the United States, there is a strong movement to legislate the country as "English-only." In Canada, on the other hand, much national legislation is produced not only in English and French, but in various indigenous dialects as well, due to the combined efforts of the multiple indigenous groups residing within that country's borders. In my native country, Peru, the legal status of my native language, Quechua, has fluctuated greatly depending on which political group is in power. The current government recognizes the fact that a large percentage of its population does not speak Spanish, and has, once again, instituted bilingual Spanish-Quechua education. However, this recent effort does not have much impact on the respective statuses of Spanish and Quechua, and so a

diglossic situation continues to exist in Peru. Because of my own desire to improve the present situation of Quechua in my home country, this paper will treat issues of corpus planning in Peru.

With corpus planning in a multilingual country as the main focus, it is perhaps warranted to define just what is meant by multilingualism, and to differentiate between a multilingual country versus multilingual speakers. David Crystal (1985) defines multilingualism in general as both the speech community in which more than one languge is spoken, and the individual speakers themselves "who have multilingual ability" (p. 202). Regarding the idea of a multilingual country, Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino (1989) in particular makes an eloquent point concerning the linguistic status of Peru:

> Multilingualism has been a constant feature of the sociocultural landscape of Peru throughout the course of its history. The Peruvian territory, full of contrasts, was an area where languages of different families and different historic roles converged.... The present linguistic map is a result of a series of displacements and superpositions of these languages; the number and nature of these occurrences are difficult to determine (particularly in the past), but their interaction--actually that of the speakers--undoubtedly established the multilingual nature of the country. (p. 11)

Cerrón-Palomino uses the term *multilingual* with respect to the nature of the country as a whole. This is borne out by census statistics on ethnicity and languages spoken. As of 1984, out of a population of 18,274,200 speakers, 72.64% spoke Spanish, 24.08% spoke Quechua, and 3.29% spoke all other indigenous Peruvian languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1989: 14). However, these numbers do not distinguish bilingual or multilingual speakers from monolingual speakers; both groups are lumped together in the statistics. In reality, as Cerrón-Palomino's quote makes explicit, Peru as a country *is* multilingual, in that a very large number of languages are spoken within the boundaries of the country. At the same time, individual speakers are much less likely to be multilingual themselves. Clearly, many Peruvians are at least bilingual, and some are multilingual. However, according to statistics, the vast majority of speakers in Peru are monolinguals, either of Spanish or of an indigenous language such as Quechua or Aymara. This monolingualism at the individual level is an important point to make because it has a great impact on the current situation of Quechua in Peru in regard to corpus planning.

In discussing the case of corpus planning in Peru, I will follow the model presented in Cooper's (1989) text, *Language planning and social change*. He details the following four areas which are integral to corpus planning:

graphization; standardization, in which Cooper includes the process of codification; modernization; and renovation.

Graphization is the development of a writing system for a previously unwritten language. Ferguson (1968a) states it quite simply: "graphization [is] reduction to writing" (p. 28). Standardization, according to Richards, Platt and Platt, is "the process of making some aspect of language usage conform to a standard variety," usually in connection with the written, rather than the oral, aspect of the language (p. 350). It is also normally implemented by government authority. Codification refers to the written rules of language use (Cooper 1989: 144-145), or making the unconscious process of language production conscious and explicit. Modernization, according to Cooper (1989) is "the process whereby a language becomes an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse" (p. 149). While modernization is generally a literal attempt to bring a language up-to-date with current technologies and styles, renovation is more "an effort to change an already developed code, whether in the name of efficiency, aesthetics, or national or political ideology.... Whereas modernization permits language codes to serve new communicative functions, renovation permits language codes to serve old functions in new ways" (Cooper 1989: 154).

Having defined the parameters to examine, it might also be useful to have explicitly stated definitions of *language planning* and *corpus planning*. Tauli (1974) succinctly defines language planning as:

> the higher and more difficult task of ... the methodical improvement of language, i.e. to eliminate inadequacies and inconveniences in the structure and vocabulary of a language, and to adapt the language for new needs and to make it more efficient. (p. 57)

Fishman (1973) specifies that such efforts usually are carried out at the national level (p. 24). According to Wiley (1996), the process of language planning involves two interrelated processes: *corpus planning*, whose definition very closely resembles that of language planning cited above, and *status planning* (p. 108). Richards, Platt and Platt (1992) define *corpus planning* as deliberately restructuring a language, usually by the government at the national level. This process can include increasing the range of the vocabulary, creating new grammatical structures, or even developing a new writing system or standardizing a current one (p. 88). Cooper (1989) amplifies this by stating, "it refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code" (p. 31).

In accordance with an assertion of Haugen's (1966), I would like to emphasize that in corpus planning and language planning the spoken word

is not the most important tool, but rather, the written word. Haugen states Bloomfield's position that writing is nothing more than a way to record the spoken word, and as such, is secondary to it (1933, cited in Haugen p. 53). At the same time, and contrary to Bloomfield, he points out that when an effort is being made to consciously transmit language from one population to another, writing does indeed become more important than speech: "The reason for the reversal [of the relative importance between writing and speech] is given by the function of writing as the medium of communication between speakers separated in time and space" (p. 53). Hence, in agreement with Haugen's argument that the graphic representation is more important than the oral in language planning, I will focus my attention on written form and function, rather than spoken.

In a later work, Haugen (1983) presents what he calls a four-fold model "as a framework for the starting points of language planners everywhere" (p. 269). The four "folds" of his model are: (1) selection of a norm; (2) its codification; (3) implementation of function; and (4) elaboration of the function (p. 270). Selection, of course, is deciding which code to use in the language planning effort. Haugen stresses that this is a societal decision, not an individual one; it is a policy decision of a society's leaders (p. 270-271). Needless to say, although it may be simple to state, it is not a simple decision to make.

Codification is the process of establishing written norms for the code chosen. Graphization is often the first step in the process of codification. This process, as opposed to selection, can be the work of an individual. Haugen makes an important point regarding selection and codification when he indicates that:

> they both involve decisions on *form* and are part of what has been called *policy planning*.... *Selection* and *codification* remain mere paper exercises unless they are followed by *implementation* and *elaboration*, the former involving social status and the latter the linguistic corpus. (p. 272)

Implementation is the stage at which the decisions from above, as it were, are brought to the community and put into practice, through such devices as books, pamphlets, newspapers, and of course, educational textbooks; it could also include introduction via mass media such as radio and television. Finally, elaboration is, as Haugen (1983) phrases it, "in many ways simply the continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world" (p. 273).

Moshe Nahir (1977 and 1984) offers a description of five aspects of language planning, which can work in conjunction with some of what Haugen describes. *Purification* is the first aspect, which he defines as "prescription of 'correct' usage so as to defend and preserve the 'purity' of the language"

(1977: 108). This process is concerned mainly with the standardization of the language, and thus has implications for corpus planning. *Revival* often functions in the formation of a national identity. "There have been some cases ... of old nations, newly aware of their national identity and heritage, forming movements with the aim of restoring old languages to their previous status" (1977: 110). Clearly, in this sense, Quechua has undergone revival at least officially or theoretically, if not in practice. With the government's one-time promotion of it to the status of one of Peru's official languages, it attempted to revive Quechua's importance in the formation of a national image. This point will be discussed further in a later section.

Revival ties into Haugen's classification in that it involves both codification and standardization: "revival = codification + standardization (+ reform)" (Nahir 1977: 111). Revival and purification are both motivated by ideological and emotional factors. *Reform*, however, which is the next level of Nahir's classification, is generally an attempt to make the language easier to use in actual communicative situations, whether through simplification of the lexicon, the orthography, or the spelling system. Needless to say, such reforms may be affected by ideology, politics, or emotion, but they are not necessarily based on them (Nahir 1977: 113).

Standardization is a process that falls under the reform movement. Garvin (1993) presents a very clear case for what it is and its importance in language planning in his discussion of its role in language planning, the purposes and functions it serves within society, and its frame of reference in the society. As an example of this, Ayacucho Quechua (a variety of Quechua II) is generally considered to be the best choice for a standardized written language, although there are varying opinions on all sides, as is only to be expected. I will discuss these arguments in more depth in the next section.

The final level which Nahir discusses is *lexical modernization*, which is the practice of bringing an old language up to date to be able to function in the modern world. This process includes inventing new terminology to express concepts not currently available in the language, such as creating words in Quechua to be able to talk about modern technology. It can be done either by adapting loan words into the language, or extending meanings of current words in the language to express new ideas.

Hornberger pulls together many of the concepts discussed above, and presents them in a concise table to show how they all interact. Below, I reproduce the portion of this table which summarizes corpus planning (1994: 78).

As can be seen in Table 1, corpus planning addresses both the form and the function of the language, through the approaches of Policy Planning (form) and Cultivation Planning (function). It then lists the goals of each approach: standardization and graphization are directly related to the form of a language, while modernization and renovation, and their respective subcategories, are related to a language's function.

Table 1
Summary of Corpus Planning

Approaches	*Policy Planning (on form)*	*Cultivation Planning (on function)*
Types	*Goals*	*Goals*
Corpus Planning (about language)	Standardisation	Modernisation
	Corpus	Lexical
	Auxiliary code	Stylistic
	Graphisation	Renovation
		Purification
		Reform
		Stylistic simplification
		Terminology unification

Source: Hornberger 1994: 78. Based on Ferguson 1968, Kloss 1968, Stewart 1968, Neustupny 1974, Haugen 1983, Nahir 1984, Cooper, 1989.

Peru: A Case Study

Having discussed the theoretical basis for language and corpus planning in general, I will now give a short historical overview of the linguistic work done on the Quechua language over the last 33 years. Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 223-247) cites Parker (1963) and Torero (1964) as some of the first truly scientific studies completed in the area of Quechua historical linguistics. Both of these investigators did comparative and/or reconstructive studies, which helped to tentatively classify the various dialects of Quechua, many of which are nearly mutually unintelligible, according to phonological and morphological characteristics. In other words, they helped to prove that the various Quechua dialects derive from a common linguistic ancestor. As a result of these studies, Quechua was divided into two main branches: Central Quechua, also known as Huaihuash or Quechua I; and Southern Quechua, known as Huampuy or Quechua II (see Appendix A). This paper focuses on the latter branch.

Following the work of Parker and Torero, Taylor (1984) contributed new details which further clarified the classification system, and many others have continued their investigations. Among the well-known linguists studying the Quechua language, Cerrón-Palomino himself has been actively working in the field since 1973, producing everything from dictionaries and grammars to studies on language planning and language loss.

All these studies provide a theoretical linguistic basis for the ultimate work of corpus planning. Without such pure linguistic studies, we would

not have the knowledge of structure and variation to be able to plan the most effective and efficient ways to standardize the written language. With this foundation, we can now turn to the actual planning of a corpus. As I mentioned earlier, I am following Cooper's (1989) model for organizing my discussion, which incorporates the following foci: graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation. These are the topics which I will examine in relation to the Quechua situation for the remainder of my paper. I will also look at various related issues which are specifically relevant to Quechua corpus planning.

One of the most critical and confounding of these issues is the fact that there are three distinct groups working on corpus planning in Peru, and these three groups are not necessarily working together in a coordinated effort, as Hornberger (1995) points out. Each group has its own agenda and its own ideologies which influence the differing approaches they take.

The first of these is a group of "Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists [who] affirm that they seek the standardization of that authentic Quechua; that is, not the Quechua of the bilingual *mestizo*, but the Quechua of the rural sector, the monolingual *campesinos*" (Hornberger 1995: 198). For the sake of brevity, I will refer to this group as the Peruvian linguists. This group, as Hornberger mentions, consists primarily of linguists who have a profound knowledge of Quechua, and who have a history of production based at San Marcos University, "the oldest and most prestigious of Peru's universities" (p. 198).

These linguists have organized and instituted a number of bilingual education projects, the most notable of which are the Experimental Quechua-Spanish Bilingual Education Program of Ayacucho, and the Experimental Bilingual Education Project of Puno (1995: 192). Unfortunately, in 1994, the bilingual education programs which were organized and maintained at the federal level were terminated due to the government's changing priorities (R. Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, April 27, 1996). Bilingual education is no longer a government priority, and any such programs that are still in effect are not linked in any systematic way to either each other or to the government.[1] According to Luis Enrique López Quiroz, an internationally known scholar who promotes maintenance programs in bilingual Quechua-Spanish education, there are currently 18 different bilingual education projects ongoing in Peru, either through the efforts of non-governmental organizations, or through private organizations (Hornberger, personal communication, April 30, 1996).

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[1] In a later communication, after this paper was first submitted, I was informed that the government had reinstated a national bilingual education program, which it is still in the process of implementing (H. Rosales Alvarado, personal communication, September 2, 1996). This sudden about-face in policy is just one more manifestation of how rapidly situations can change in Latin American politics.

The second group working on bilingual education is the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language, based in Cuzco[2] and with a primary objective of establishing and disseminating Quechua not just as a colloquial or vernacular language, but also as a literary and intellectual one. Faustino Espinoza Navarro is the founder of this organization, and has contributed greatly to Quechua's use as a literary language, both by producing literature in Quechua, and by establishing the National Cuzco Prize for a Quechua Novel, Poem, Story and Drama, among other activities promoted by the Academy (Hornberger 1995: 193). The primary ideological focus of this institution is the linguistic purity of Quechua:

> The majority of their works ... are composed in a Quechua which is not the spoken language, but rather one that attempts to be 'pure,' 'classical,' 'authentic,' 'legitimate' and uncontaminated by the loan words that characterize the 'mixed,' 'adulterated,' or 'vulgar' Quechua used daily by its speakers.... The revindicated Quechua is supposedly that of the Incas, but in no sense that of the 'Indians.' (Godenzzi 1992: 26-27; translation mine)

The Peruvian Academy has close working connections with the third group, in the sense that they connect in the same geographical sphere and share some of the same resources. However, it seems to me that their ideologies are different enough that they do not generally collaborate successfully on the same projects.

This third group which is involved in promoting the Quechua language is the North American-based international Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which is a missionary body whose primary purpose is to translate the Bible into all languages of the world. Because many of the world's languages are still unwritten, this also means that SIL has been involved in developing writing systems for these languages (Hornberger 1995: 192).

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[2] In an effort to maintain consistency in this work, I will follow R. Cerrón-Palomino's spelling convention for the city of Cuzco throughout my paper, despite variations in spelling among the different authors whom I cite. He notes, "We write Cuzco (and derivatives) with z, and not *Cusco*, because of our loyalty to orthographic tradition. It was written thusly not only by the first scholars of the Quechua language, but also by the Inca Garcilaso himself, who was fond of saying that he had 'suckled' Quechua 'with his mother's milk.' Those who would happily propose the change from Cuzco to *Cusco* do not know—or do not care—that until the end of the 17th century, Cuzco Quechua (not only the Chinchaysuyu variety) distinguished between two types of sibilants (a coronal and an apical: the first was represented by z and the second by s), and if Garcilaso writes Cozco it is because the sibilant in question was dorsal and not apical. Therefore, to want to change z to s is an attempt against the etymological integrity of the word." (Cerrón-Palomino 1994: 13; translation mine).

Having three such diverse groups trying to work on the same basic process—corpus planning—from three different directions and with three different agendas makes the ultimate achievement of a successful corpus very problematic. At each stage of the process outlined by Cooper (1989), each of these groups has a differing stance. And since each group has its political agenda, none is willing to sacrifice its position for the sake of the final goal. So instead of unification, the result is ideological schisms and separation within the ranks of language planners. These gaps become apparent when we discuss the various stages of corpus planning, so I will briefly return to these groups in discussing each stage, to illustrate some of the difficulties inherent in trying to transfer theory to practice.

Graphization

The first effort in corpus planning, according to Cooper, should be directed toward graphization. Cerrón-Palomino (1988) also maintains that graphization is fundamental in the codification of a previously unwritten language, and asserts that some form of graphization of Quechua, planned or not, has been undertaken ever since the Spanish Conquest of the Americas, mostly directed towards the effort to subjugate the native population. He points out that early attempts at graphization were far from consistent, for the simple reason that "the described variet[ies] presented exotic sounds to the ears of the Europeans. In these cases, the proposed solutions could not but vary according to the degree of fidelity with which the grammarians tried to represent them" (p. 80; translation mine). As we shall see shortly, such conflicts and difficulties in developing an orthographic system still have not been entirely overcome in the case of Quechua today, at a time when it has been the subject of much debate and careful consideration.

As early as 1954, at the III Congreso Indigenista Interamericano [Third Interamerican Indigenist Congress], efforts were being made to develop an alphabet that would suffice to express both Quechua and Aymara phonemes. This alphabet was known as the *Sistema Unico de Escritura para las Lenguas Quechua y Aymara* [the unified writing system for Quechua and Aymara]. This was the alphabet eventually adopted by the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language (Hornberger 1993: 239).

In 1975, during Velasco Alvarado's administration, Quechua was made an official language of Peru, "coequal with Spanish, and ... taught at all levels of education beginning in 1976 and used in all court actions involving Quechua speakers beginning in 1977" (Hornberger 1995: 189).[3] This, of course, made it necessary to have a written Quechua alphabet, a task un-

[3] It is significant to note that the Peruvian government later retracted this law in their 1979 constitution, during the administration of Morales Bermúdez, in which Spanish is designated as the only official language, with Quechua and Aymara having "official use zones" (Hornberger 1995: 189).

dertaken by the commission whose duty it was to implement the law. At the same time, they also commissioned the development and publication of dictionary-grammar sets to correspond to each of the six main Quechua dialects in Peru, which were elaborated under the direction of Alberto Escobar. The six dialects for which these sets were produced are Ancash-Huailas, Ayacucho-Chanca, Cajamarca-Cañaris, Cuzco-Collao, Junín-Huanca, and San Martín Quechua. The group contracted to do this work was the group of Peruvian linguists mentioned earlier; therefore, it was their particular ideological influence which colored the format of the alphabet used.

Graphization is not simply a matter of creating a symbol, such as a letter, to represent any given sound. For example, it shouldn't really be necessary to have a different symbol for two allophones of the same phoneme. At the start of their effort, however, these Peruvian linguists utilized some strategies that did just this. They represented allophones of the vowels /i/ and /u/ with separate letters /e/ and /o/, creating an apparent five-vowel system. In Quechua, /i/ is pronounced /e/ and /u/ is pronounced /o/ when they are in contact with the uvular consonant /q/ or its counterparts /q^h/ (aspirated) and /q'/ (glottalized). The Peruvian linguists also separated the different Quechua dialects into individualized, region-specific books, as stated earlier. In this case, the variants of /q/ mentioned above play a role. The aspirated and glottalized versions of /q/ are found in distinct dialects of Quechua, and it was felt necessary to make these distinctions visible in writing (Hornberger 1995: 195). Hence, this initial effort was still not a unifying one.

Over time, more and more problems were encountered with trying to apply the official Quechua alphabet. Finally in 1983, a special workshop, *El Primer Taller de Escritura en Quechua y Aimara* (the First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writing), was held to try to address these problems. Some of the results of this workshop included formation of orthographic rules, how to deal with Spanish loan words, and the use of only three vowels (a, i, u) in both the Quechua and Aymara official alphabets.

This would have seemed to settle the question of the number of vowels in Quechua, except that there were still two other professional groups working on graphization. In 1987, the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language decided by a majority vote to institute a five-vowel system, which once again opened the debate. However, apparently the SIL was quite active in this meeting, and many non-SIL members of the Academy were opposed to their influence. These dissidents claimed that the SIL approach was ultimately disunifying, since it emphasized the surface differences between the dialects rather than their deep-structure similarities (Hornberger 1995: 191). This incident illustrates how important and yet how divisive politics and ideologies can be in establishing a policy. Also, we will see how these same groups continue to work at cross purposes

throughout the planning process.

These conflicting ideas became reflected in the alphabets put forward by each group. (See Appendix B for a schematic presentation of some of the ideological differences between the groups, and the respective alphabets that they proposed.) After many years of discussion and argument by the various groups, finally in 1985, the Pan-Quechua alphabet was proposed by the Peruvian linguists as a fair and accurate representation of the various sounds of the Quechua language. This alphabet is the one that was used in the bilingual education programs and the elaboration of textbooks. However, it has not been universally accepted by either the Peruvian Academy or by SIL, who each have their own proposed alphabets which are similar to each other, so the issue is still not completely settled.

Returning to a more theoretical perspective from this field-based ideological issue, I would like to address some of the strictly linguistic matters that are generally thought to be important in planning an alphabet. There can be political, cultural, or even very practical reasons to choose something other than a Latin-based alphabet; for instance, in certain languages, a syllabary might make more sense than an alphabet, since a one-to-one correspondence between a single phoneme and a letter might be impossible. Tonal languages are an example of this (Cooper 1989: 126), since it is very hard to indicate tonal variations with one-to-one phoneme-to-letter alphabetic correspondences. A syllabary can have as many characters as it needs, which may represent whole words or even phrases, but each character also includes some element which indicates proper intonation.

Another significant point in planning an orthography is the consideration of such characteristics as ease of learning, writing, reading, transference between languages, and so forth. However, Cooper (1989) points out that even these apparently reasonable criteria can conflict with each other: "What is easy to read is not necessarily easy to write and print. What is easy to learn is not necessarily easy to use" (p. 126). Once one has identified the characteristics which are most important or relevant to a given linguistic situation, one then has to be concerned with *how* to achieve these goals. For instance, as Cooper questions, is it more effective to plan for a learner to match specific written symbols with individual oral sounds, or does it make more sense to assume a "correspondence between symbol and meaning" (p. 127)? In the first case, one might design a graphical representation system that differentiates between the final sounds of the words *cats* and **horsez*, although in both cases the final sound represents the pluralization of the word. However, in the second case, it would be this plural morpheme function that would be emphasized, and thus both words would end with the same symbol, /s/.

Social concerns are also very important. Regardless of any technical considerations, if the people for whom the alphabet is designed decide for whatever reason that it is not acceptable to them, it will fail. In this instance, Cooper (1989) cites the example of one language, Serbo-Croatian,

being written in three different scripts by three different subgroups, depending on their religious affiliations: Catholic Croats use Latin script, Orthodox Serbs write in a Cyrillic script, and Bosnian Muslims formerly used an Arabic writing system (pp. 128-29).

Quechua itself has not escaped from many of these problems throughout the ages. Of course, with the Spanish written tradition well established by the time of the conquest, the Spaniards felt an almost immediate need to transfer the Quechua oral traditions into written texts. Since their alphabet was not adequate to represent all the sounds present in Quechua, their efforts had very limited success. Attempts to create a standardized alphabet have continued since then, with reasons for failures ranging from not taking the Quechua phonological system into account to attempting to use alphabets that were so complex they were nearly impossible to manage (Cerrón-Palomino 1988: 80-81).

Also, as I discussed earlier, the three primary groups promoting a Quechua alphabet play their part in this ultimate failure of a unified alphabet. However, at the very least, they have produced a considerable amount of written material in Quechua, across a wide variety of genres: educational texts, dictionaries and grammars, transcriptions of stories and myths from the oral tradition, translations of Spanish literature into Quechua, and of course, the Bible. Despite the fact that all these works were generated in at least three different alphabets, their production has not been wasted effort; rather, such a production is very valuable because it demonstrates the utility of Quechua beyond just the home or the local community.

Standardization

The search for a unified alphabet is ultimately a search for standardization. This is not to say that standardization is only concerned with a uniform alphabet, however. Cooper (1989) refers to Rubin's (1977) discussion of the matter, pointing out "that all human interaction requires some degree of standardization, i.e., some degree of shared expectations and shared understanding" (p. 132). This is not normally a problem within a given community, but when the sphere is enlarged to include an entire region or even the whole country, regional variations in pronunciation, in lexemes, or in entire phrases, can become problematic and interfere with the capacity to communicate. It is at this extra-community level that standardization becomes important.

However, this does not mean that the aim of standardization is to eliminate variations from a language. Again, social factors play as important a role as technical ones in trying to standardize language. As Cooper (1989) writes, "when linguistic variants serve as markers of our identity, we may be loath to abandon them, particularly in the name of a soulless efficiency" (133). He goes on to quote Ferguson, who says that "ideal standardization refers to a language which has a single, widely accepted norm which is felt to be appropriate with only minor modifications or variations for all pur-

poses for which language is used" (1962: 10, cited in Cooper: 134).

I would also like to re-emphasize here that in the case of Quechua, the effort at standardization is only in the written language, not in the spoken. No one is denying any native speaker's right to continue to speak as s/he has always spoken; the main purpose of written standardization is to be able to provide a more or less uniform education to all Quechua speakers in their native tongue. Indeed, Cooper (1989) also makes reference to the difference between written and spoken standardization. He indicates that it is generally easier and more successful to standardize the written than the spoken, for a number of reasons:

> The need for a single standard written variety is greater than that of a single standard spoken variety; it is probably easier to impart, via schooling, a standard literary variety...; and writers can usually exercise more control over their writing than speakers can exert over their speech (138).

López Quiroz (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989) emphasizes the importance of a "supradialectal norm," arguing for making indigenous languages into "vehicles of knowledge, empowering their expressive repertoire and standardizing them through the establishment of a supradialectal variety" (p. 30; translation mine). One example of how this applies to Quechua is in deciding which variety to use as the basis for the "norm."

According to one argument made by the Peruvian Academy, Cuzco Quechua is the logical choice for the standard "norm" since Cuzco is widely known to be the seat of the "original" Quechua spoken by the Incas. Their argument is based on their belief that "the purity and authenticity of Quechua have more to do with freedom from contamination from Lima and fidelity to Cuzco norms than with freedom from Spanish influence and bilingual speakers, or with fidelity to the various local varieties of Quechua" (Hornberger 1995: 200).

Others, such as Chuquimamani (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989), argue that Ayacucho Quechua is a more reasonable choice, for a few reasons. In general, this variety is considered to be a more lexically and morphologically conservative dialect. In addition, perhaps the strongest reason to choose Ayacucho Quechua is that Cuzco Quechua has been influenced by contact with Aymara, which has contributed not only to phonological change but also to lexical change. For example, the word for water in Cuzco is "unu," the same as in Aymara. In all the other dialects of Quechua, which have not been in contact with Aymara, this word is "yaku." Another example, from phonology, is the presence of glottal and aspirated consonants in Cuzco, characteristics which are prevalent in Aymara but which do not appear in other dialects of Quechua.

Chuquimamani (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989) makes a strong argument for the standardization of Quechua, and proposes the adoption of Ayacucho Quechua as the standard variety, when he emphasizes, "[We must] pursue standardization to avoid 'Quechuicide' and to make possible the communication among all Quechua speakers via the introduction of these languages in school as an instrumental language and as languages [sic] as an object of study, that is, via bilingual education" (p. 32-33; translation mine).

A third possibility for standardization has been proposed by Cerrón-Palomino (1994). In the introduction to his *Quechua sureño diccionario unificado*, he proposes using a combination of Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua. He bases this reasoning, which he actually elaborates for the first time in an earlier work (1991), on considerations of differences in pronunciation between the two varieties, some of which I present below:

> (a) The current method of representation in Cuzco-Puno Quechua does not reflect the existence of abstract, deep-structure morphological segments which might not be reflected in surface-structure pronunciation, notably in syllable-final occlusive consonants. By looking at the newer linguistic research, a deep-structure morpheme can be graphized which will reflect a wide variety of pronunciations.
>
> (b) He discusses resolving cases of polymorphism by postulating a single graphic form to represent all oral variations; for example, the suffix *-chka*, which is prone to wide differences in pronunciation. Deciding on a single, preferably more conservative, form to represent all pronunciations will greatly ease the process of standardizing the writing system. "Otherwise, it will be simply impossible to normalize the writing system: each writer will keep writing as he wishes" (35).
>
> (c) Regarding the highly conflictive problem of whether to represent the vowel sounds with three or five distinct letters, which is discussed elsewhere in this paper, Cerrón-Palomino asserts that it is necessary to make a stand once and for all, even if that means resorting to "counting ... votes among the members of the committee in charge of the normalization process" (35).
>
> (d) Certain graphemes which were rejected, with lamentable consequences for the written unification of Panquechua, need to be reconsidered, and perhaps (re)included in the orthographic system; for example, *h*, *k*, and *w*, which are sounds which exist in Quechua, should not be excluded from the orthographic system simply because they are not normally included in Spanish spellings.
>
> (e) Finally, there is extreme variation in the use of laryngeal phonemes (aspirated and glottalized consonants) in the so-called Inca Quechua. For instance, the same phoneme may or may not be either aspirated or glottalized, depending on what region the speaker is from. Therefore, to normalize the orthography, a single representation needs to be chosen to represent the variety of pronunciations (Cerrón-Palomino 1991: 34-36).

This combined alphabet postulated by Cerrón-Palomino would orthographically represent, for instance, the aspirated and glottal versions of /p, t, k, q, ch/ mentioned in (e) above, which are found in Cuzco pronunciations but not in Ayacucho. At the same time it would also represent some Ayacucho traits not found in Cuzco pronunciations, such as maintaining affricates in syllable-final positions rather than softening them to fricatives. An example of such a blending of traits that he gives in his dictionary is the word "ashes," which he represents as /uchpʰa/. In Ayacucho Quechua, this word is pronounced [uchpa], while in Cuzco Quechua, it is pronounced [uspʰa]. In Cerrón-Palomino's scheme, the first syllable, /u*ch*-/, maintains the Ayacucho palatal affricate /ch/, while the second syllable, /-*p*ʰa/, shows the aspirated quality of the bilabial stop, /p/, which is typical of the Cuzco variety (Cerrón-Palomino 1994: 14-15).

The reasoning he gives for maintaining the glottalized and aspirated representation of the consonants mentioned above is based on the most recent findings in historical reconstructions of proto-Quechua. It has been discovered that these consonants existed in proto-Quechua, predating Quechua's contact with Aymara. Therefore, their presence in Quechua is not due to a later contact with Aymara, but already an inherent part of the language which may have been lost in other dialects. This fact also suggests that Quechua and Aymara may share a common root in proto-Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, April 27, 1996).

Another suggestion for standardization is proposed by Gerald Taylor (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989), who feels that it would be appropriate to revitalize the *lingua franca* used in the colonial period, and codified in the Third Council of Lima. He argues that this would be the most supradialectal, since it is not identified with any one region, it has an extensive Quechua lexicon and a complex syntax which is attested in numerous written documents from the period, and finally, it was used throughout the entire colony (p. 40).

Last but not least is the suggestion to simply leave things as they are, and not standardize anything. This proposal is put forth by SIL, the same group that felt it was necessary to provide a different dictionary/grammar for each of the different dialectal regions. The SIL takes the view that it is these regional variations that serve as symbols of ethnic solidarity for Quechua speakers; to erase such distinctions by unifying or standardizing "would erode the fundamental reason for Quechua speakers to speak Quechua" (Hornberger 1995: 199). However, this argument seems to promote the view that standardization seeks to influence spoken as well as written Quechua, which is not the case, as has been frequently repeated.

Codification

In all these discussions of standardization, the concept of codification is implicit. As indicated earlier, codification has to do with the written rules of language use (Cooper 1989: 144-145). As I have previously mentioned,

there has been a vast production of grammars, dictionaries, and the like, all of which serve to codify the language. Another function they serve, of course, is to "fix" the lexicon, to lay it out in a permanent and more or less unchanging form. In other words, they help standardize the words themselves. As Cooper (1989) indicates, "written codification can influence speakers separated by time and space and is thus likely to promote the stability of the norm which it encodes" (p. 145).

In the case of Peru, there is an extensive history of lexical codification of Quechua, as far back as the Conquest. However, there is no codification of any kind of supradialectal Quechua; in general, the grammars and dictionaries which have been produced have been regional efforts. This makes it necessary, in the effort to standardize a written Quechua, to elaborate a basic dictionary to codify that part of the lexicon which is common to the entire Andean region. This can only be done after carrying out an appropriate study to collect the necessary information for a preliminary work. Lexicalization is ultimately a continuous and permanent task, since it will always be necessary to develop new terms as Quechua speakers come more and more in contact with the modern world. This point also becomes important in the section below on modernization.

The steps involved in the corpus planning process of any language are not discrete and separate. There will always be overlap between them, and this overlap can be seen clearly here between codification and standardization. For example, in Cerrón-Palomino's discussion of his reasons for proposing a combined Ayacucho-Cuzco pandialect, the implications for orthography are implicitly present in his explicit discussion of standardization. Since orthography is one of the main tools of codification, his discussion of this pandialect could just as easily fall under this section on codification as under standardization.

A final example of codification is the elaboration of textbooks in Quechua. This also could be cross-listed under modernization, since many of these textbooks deal with subject matter that has not been very much discussed until recently in Quechua, such as science and social studies classes.

Modernization

I indicated previously that Cooper (1989) defines modernization, sometimes referred to as elaboration, essentially as the process of updating a language to make it functional in the discourses of the modern world (p. 149). He also points out that "standardization itself is seen as 'modern,' an attitude which sometimes promotes standardization of languages in developing countries" (Rubin 1977, cited in Cooper: 150). In this statement, we once again see the mixing of categories.

Moshe Nahir (1977), on the other hand, describes a more complex process, divided into two categories depending on the level of "maturity" of a language. Hence, in a more "immature" language (such as Malay, Irish, or

Quechua), modernization is part of a process of revival, reform, or standardization, "to enrich the lexicon with new terminologies, due to the gap that exists between them and modern technology, thought, and knowledge." In a more mature, "fully established, standard" language, such as Hungarian or Swedish, modernization is more a process of creating new, technological terms to add to an already established base (p. 117).

Such a process of lexical modernization as described by Cooper (1989), and in the first point of Nahir (1977), will obviously be critical to the development of Quechua. For example, the final report which I discussed earlier gives lists of linguistic, grammatical, mathematical, and pedagogical terms expressed in Quechua (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989: 55-58; 62-64; 69-70; see Appendix C for samples from these lists). This text also offers specific lexical, syntactic and stylistic suggestions for developing and modernizing new terminologies in Quechua and Aymara (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989: 45-54). Pantigozo Montes (1992) produced an article on Quechua linguistics, in Quechua (pp. 268-273); this was another completely new application of the language. Also using Quechua to modernize Quechua is the publication of a Quechua-Quechua dictionary, *Vocabulario razonado de la actividad agraria andina*, written by Ballón Aguirre, Cerrón-Palomino, and Chambi Apaza (1992). Two final examples of modernization and codification are Hornberger and Hornberger's (1983) trilingual dictionary of Cuzco Quechua, produced in Quechua, English and Spanish; and a modernized version of the *Diccionario políglota incaico 1905* by Cerrón-Palomino, et al. (in press). The latter work is an updated elaboration of the original 1905 Spanish-to-Quechua edition. The original dictionary gave glosses for Spanish words in the Cuzco, Ayacucho, Huanca and Ancash dialects of Quechua and in Aymara, but did not use the alphabet in a systematic way due to a lack of any standardized Quechua orthography in that era. The edition currently in press modernizes the language by using the official Quechua alphabet proposed by the Peruvian linguists, and by including additional homonyms beyond the original glosses provided for many of the Spanish entries. As in the original 1905 edition, it maintains the use of the four Quechua dialects and Aymara.

It should be emphasized here that the above sampling of works is by no means exhaustive. There are many other works similar to these which there is no room to mention individually: grammars, dictionaries, collections of poetry, children's story books, translations of works in other languages into Quechua. Some of these, such as poetry and children's stories, might more properly fall under standardization since they might not require the use of modernized language in their telling; however, they are modernizing efforts in the sense that they have been transferred to writing and widely disseminated.

Such terms and ideas which are expressed in all the above mentioned texts have never existed before in these languages. In the age of their greatest use, such terms were not necessary. As the rest of the world moved into

the twentieth century, and Quechua became devalued relative to Spanish, it did not seem worthwhile for a long time to try to coin such new, modern terms.

It is important to note that when we speak of modernization, we are not necessarily referring here to loan words, but to new Quechua words developed from Quechua morphemes with meanings that, when combined in new ways, lend themselves to the modern meanings. Many linguists and language planners believe that loan words from other languages should be considered only when it becomes completely impossible to develop anything from within the existing Quechua structure. Cooper (1989) discusses general issues to consider in the process of coining such new terms. If the new word is built from indigenous sources, one can either give a new meaning to an existing word, build around an indigenous root, or translate a foreign word into the indigenous language. If the new word is borrowed directly from a foreign language, then issues such as whether and how far to indigenize it need to be considered: should the pronunciation or spelling be nativized? Or perhaps only its affixes should be modified to fit the structure of the borrowing language (p. 151)?

In texts such as Quechua-Quechua dictionaries, questions similar to those above are being addressed, and attempts made to resolve them. Needless to say, the answer chosen will be different in each specific case. For example, mathematical terms might more easily be coined from pre-existing Quechua structures, while computer terminology could well be beyond the reach of any Quechua linguistic manipulations. The answer can also vary depending on which ideological focus is in play: the SIL is in favor of accepting loan words from Spanish without any modification whatsoever. In other words, for example, if Quechua were to borrow the word "escuela" from Spanish, then in Quechua it should be spelled "escuela" and not "iskuyla" (Weber 1994: 150). This stand is antithetical to the majority of linguists working in Quechua, who feel that if loan words are accepted, they should be nativized to match with typical Quechua spelling and pronunciation.

These same Quechua-Quechua dictionaries, as well as translations of foreign works and Quechua literary production, are some other important functions of modernization, and I have cited some specific examples of these above. Rather than being a translation dictionary, with definitions in Spanish or English, a Quechua-Quechua dictionary defines Quechua terms in the Quechua language. This in itself requires a certain degree of creativity, especially if one is defining terms new to the language.

Renovation

Renovation might almost be considered a type of modernization, but it serves a slightly different function, as described earlier. An example in relation to Quechua might be the case in Ecuador where Quechua has already been standardized. Now, with the effort to standardize across Peru,

Bolivia, and Ecuador, this represents a *re*-standardization in Ecuador; so for them, this would be a renovation, while for the other two countries, it would still be an innovation.

Hornberger (1994) indicates that renovation can also include purification, language reform, stylistic simplification, and terminology unification (p. 78). Purification is the prescription of correct usage and protection against internal change, which is a primary function of grammars and dictionaries; so here again we find overlap between the category of standardization, and this one of renovation.

Language reform, according to Hornberger (1994), is a "deliberate change in specific aspects of the language or literacy, with the intention of improving it" (p. 80). Clearly, then, this entire process of corpus planning is an attempt at language reform. Stylistic simplification involves the reduction of ambiguities, whether in lexicon, grammar or style. This subcategory is most applicable to professional jargons, and also includes the final subcategory of terminology unification, which seeks to reduce ambiguity specifically in specialized lexicons, such as those used in scientific and technical fields (Hornberger 1994: 80). To some degree, then, stylistic simplification and terminology unification are not really applicable to Quechua, since it is just now beginning to try to modernize to include such terminology. Of course, it is still possible to simplify some stylistic aspects which may not have anything to do with jargon; for example, if linguistic purists were to try to express the idea of a computer in Quechua, they would have to create an entire phrase to do it. However, a simplifying move might be to adopt the term from another language and nativize it according to Quechua phonological and orthographic rules.

Conclusions

Plainly, Quechua is a language which has a long and varied history. It has suffered an extended period of devaluation since the Spanish Conquest, and it still has a long way to go before it will be considered of real value to both the majority of its native speakers and to the Spanish-speaking population. Clearly, there are groups who are very interested in the maintenance of the Quechua language; unfortunately, they are not the ones who will ultimately be able to continue its existence. As Cerrón-Palomino (1989) points out in criticizing the Peruvian Academy:

> when we look at some of the institutions that claim to protect the language, but whose members in fact do not even use it in routine discussions, we are obviously looking at organs, which far from fulfilling their stated basic commitments, help to perpetuate linguistic discrimination: nothing can be expected from academies that begin by putting aside the language within their own institutions.

> This is why linguistic elaboration must primarily spring from authentic speakers. Consequently, there is an urgent need to train native speakers to write. (p. 30)

This is not to say that these institutions should play no role in Quechua maintenance; most assuredly, they still serve important functions. However, Quechua will only have a real chance of maintaining its viability when the speakers who use it for everyday living, as well as for the other purposes which I have discussed in this paper, can be convinced of its value and want to continue to use it themselves.

In this work, I have outlined the process of corpus planning in general, and used the case of events in Quechua language planning to illustrate the points raised. Based on the issues discussed here, it would seem that there is reason to hope for a brighter future for the Quechua language. Nevertheless, despite Cerrón-Palomino's (1989) criticism of one organization, this hope depends in large part on greater cooperation among the three primary groups working on the development of the Quechua language. All national and international intellectuals interested in revitalizing Quechua also have important roles to play. Renewed interest on the part of the central government in supporting the effort will be essential for both policy and financial issues. Ultimately, it is also crucial to convince the native speakers themselves, and the Spanish speakers with whom they are in regular contact, to revalorize the Quechua language. This latter effort will be the greatest challenge by far.

Standardizing Quechua does not need to begin from ground zero. Rather it is a matter of advancing from where we currently stand, for which purpose I propose the following tasks:

1. The formation of interdisciplinary academic commissions, which will work in conjunction with the native speakers to fufill the following:

   a. Compile inventories of existing terminology

   b. Create new terms capable of expressing scientific and technological advances

   c. Recuperate terminology which has fallen into disuse....

2. Diffusion and application of the Pan-Quechua Alphabet, through the elaboration and publication of, for instance, a newspaper in Quechua, which will at least allow the native Quechua speaker to develop a positive attitude towards her/his language.

3. The promotion of translations into Quechua of informative articles from different disciplines which might be of interest to the native population, with the goal of gradually enriching the language both stylistically and lexically.

4. Creation of a high-quality academic institute specifically for the teaching of Quechua as a second language.

5. The promotion of Quechua courses at universities, with concomitant support offered to their departments to be able to do so.

6. Implementation of intercultural bilingual education in the Andean regions which are primarily monolingual Quechua, to improve their chances for social mobility (Coronel-Molina 1992: 4, 6-7; translation mine).[4]

Many researchers have put forth proposals which attempt to fulfill the projects and tasks mentioned above (cf. *Normalización del lenguaje* 1989), and some of them have been implemented in various parts of the Quechua speaking countries. As just one example, 1996 marks the first year of a new summer program in Quechua language and literature education at the Colegio Andino in Cuzco, Peru, organized and promoted by Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas." This program addresses points five and six above. Nevertheless, despite such advances, there is still much work to be done. Without the continued effort of all those involved in the promotion and maintenance of Quechua, the financial and administrative support of the central government, and the active involvement of the Quechua people themselves, the outlook for Quechua is bleak indeed. In other words, for Quechua to flourish and grow, language planning should be carried out both from the bottom up (grass roots movements) and from the top down (institutional and policy support).

[4] Numbers 5 and 6 of my proposed tasks, strictly speaking, pertain to the realms of status planning and acquisition planning, which I do not specifically discuss in this paper. However, the effects of implementing these projects would also have positive implications for corpus planning in the sense that such institutions as I am proposing would be able to disseminate the work of corpus planners. These cases illustrate the interconnecting nature of these three subdivisions of language planning (cf. Wiley 1996: 108-109).

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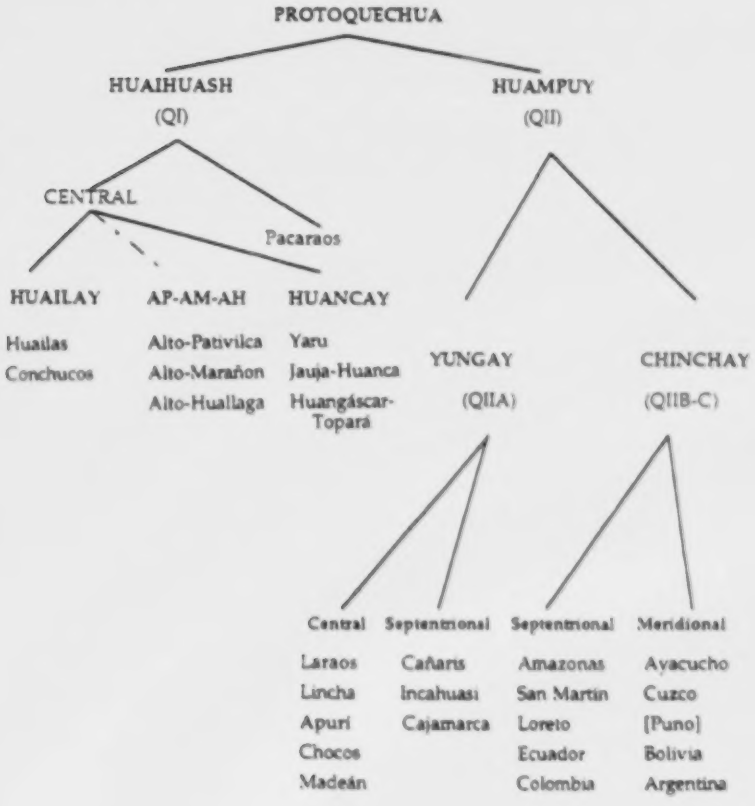
Appendix A

Linguistic Classification of Quechua Dialects



Source: Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 247.

As this diagram shows, Quechua is divided into two large linguistic branches. Up until now, Quechua II has received the most attention, and it is this branch that is in the process of being orthographically standardized. The reason for concentrating on Quechua II is that its dialects are much more widely spoken than those of Quechua I. It is only recently that linguists have begun to study Quechua I with the depth that they have devoted to Quechua II.
It is important to note that even though I talk about Quechua II as a more or less homogeneous unit, it is actually composed of a wide range of dialects. Each of these dialects varies slightly from the others in some linguistic features, which makes creating a standardized written language somewhat problematic, but not impossible.

Appendix B

Three Controversial Institutional/Linguistic Groups Working on Corpus Planning in Peru

Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists	Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language	Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)
Seek to standardize the authentic Quechua; i.e., not the Quechua of bilingual mestizos, but of the rural monolingual campesinos. This group has been most visibly involved in formal maintenance bilingual education efforts. "Taylor, a specialist in Andean linguistics, suggests revitalizing lingua franca of colonial period, as the most supradialectal form. It is not identified with any one region, has extensive Quechua lexicon & complex syntax, and was used throughout entire colony.	Based in Cuzco; primary objective is to establish and disseminate Quechua as literary/intellectual language as well as colloquial/vernacular. Promotes Cuzco Quechua as "authentic, pure" Quechua; more an ideological stance than linguistic. They do not necessarily exclude criollos and mestizos; rather, they exclude anything to do with Lima, so they are more concerned with geographic than ethnic purity.	A missionary body whose main goal is to translate the Bible into all languages of the world; because many of these languages are still oral ones, this has necessarily involved SIL in developing writing systems. Proposes simply leaving things as they are, and not standardizing anything; results in needing to produce different materials for each region. Their focus is individual autonomy of oral languages, and the evangelization of the Quechua speakers.

Adapted from Hornberger 1995: 198.

(Appendix B, continued on next page)

Appendix B, continued

Proposed graphization systems for Southern Quechua (QII)

Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists	Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language	Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)
Vowel Systems		
i u a	i u e o a	i u e o a
Consonant Systems		
Pan-Quechua Alphabet: ch, chh, ch', ts, tr, h, k, kh, k', l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, ph, p', q, qh, q', r, s, sh, t, th, t', w, y (b, d, g, f) for loan words	*Sistema Unico de Escritura para las Lenguas Quechua y Aymara:* ch, chh, ch', j, jj, k, kh, k', l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, ph, p', q, qh, q', r, rr, s, sh, t, th, t', w, y, h (b, c, d, f, g, x, z) "foreign letters" for mestizo and exotic voices	*Alphabet for parts of Southern Quechua:* p t ch c/qu q p' t' ch' k' q' ph th chh kh qh (b) (d) (g/gu) (f,v) s (c,z) sh j m n ñ l ll r (rr) w/u y

Adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 396 (Peruvian linguists); Baca Mendoza et al. 1970: 50-51 (Peruvian Academy); and Weber 1994: 146 (SIL).

Appendix C

Examples of Modernized Words Coined or Adapted from Pre-existing Quechua Words

Quechua	Literal Translation	Gloss
Phonology terms		
sapaq rimaq	the one that talks apart, or distinct (from another)	*'vowel'*
hukwan rimaq	the one that talks together with another	*'consonant'*
Orthography terms		
hatun qilqa	large writing	*'capital letter'*
huch'uy qilqa	small writing	*'lower case letter'*
Morphology terms		
sutichay	to give a name to something	*'nominalization'*
rimana	the place where two (or more) talk together	*'conjugation'*
Syntactic terms		
rimay	to talk; to speak	*'sentence'*
suti ranti	to buy a name	*'pronoun'*
Lexicography terms		
sumi rimachiq	something that makes the tongue speak	*'definition'*
achka	many; a lot; much; too much	*'polyseme'*
Mathematics/Geometry terms		
kikin	the same	*'equal'*
mura-y	to add on to; to increase	*'to multiply'*
tanta	gathered together	*'set'*
pacha	earth, world; space and time joined together ("space–time continuum")	*'space'*

Adapted from *Normalización del lenguaje* 1989: 55-58; 62-64; 69-70.

Foreign Language Planning in U.S. Higher Education: The Case of a Graduate Business Program

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This paper considers foreign language acquisition cultivation planning in U.S. higher education using the case of the Lauder Institute's Language and Cultural Perspectives Program, a graduate program in management and international studies. The Lauder case illustrates a successful program that is continously being developed to meet the needs of its students. The case is placed in perspective within the field of language planning through discussion of its relation to relevant theories and frameworks. In addition, views toward languages and the role of Title VI funding are considered in the historical and current multilingual context of the US.

The United States has been long known as a country of immigrants. At times, the diverse cultural backgrounds of its people have been valued and promoted to some degree. However, it has also long been called a melting pot, in which assimilation to the mainstream is expected. It seems that as long as their own cultural behaviors, practices, and beliefs remained on the periphery, ethnic minorities have been able to participate in mainstream society, at least marginally.

While the cultural backgrounds of ethnic minorities may be tolerated or accepted, as long as they do not conflict greatly with mainstream values, many have viewed the languages of immigrant minorities as a hindrance. Multilingualism, thus, has been viewed as a divisive force within U.S. society and the mainstream goal has been the eradication of immigrant languages or, at least, complete transition to English.

In this largely monolingual country, it is common for the transition to English within an immigrant family to be completed by the third generation (i.e., the second to be raised in the US) (Fishman (1966), cited in Garcia & Otheguy 1994: 101). In addition, we only need to look at the increasing

Table 1
Context of Two Different Frames of Language Planning in the US
(reproduced from Iino 1993: 102)

Ethnic Languages	Foreign Languages
Uses of Languages	
domestic	international
(majority vs. minority)	(dominance vs. subordination)
local	remote
(geographical space)	
immediate	non-immediate
(time)	(future oriented)
visible in daily life	invisible
	(problem itself foreign)
overt conflicts	covert conflicts
	(no lawsuit)
User of Languages	
low socioeconomic status	elite
elementary education	higher education
involuntary	voluntary
individual	institution
(drop out)	(loss of international competence)
Attitude Toward Languages	
subtractive	additive
(seen negative)	(seen positive)
unity as goal	diversity as goal

influence of the English Only Movement and the growing perceived threat of Spanish-speaking immigrants as well as other minority populations and their languages to understand that multilingualism is not a major goal for this country. In fact, it is commonly viewed as a problem for communicative and national unity, rather than an asset to further develop. (See Crawford 1992.)

Instead of taking advantage of its linguistic resources, the US tends to be a country of native monolinguals who learn foreign languages (FLs), languages which are "exogenous to the society" (Lambert 1990c: 1). Lambert makes an important distinction between these and the languages of immigrant minorities, which fit into his term ethnic languages (ELs). According to Lambert (p. 1), ELs are "used as mother tongues by important segments of the society" while FLs are not major languages within the society.

FLs (e.g., French, Castillian Spanish, and recently Japanese) have an international role and are not usually encountered in daily life in the US. They hold prestige for those who learn or speak them and are frequently

viewed favorably as additive; however, ELs (e.g., Cantonese Chinese, Spanish, as spoken by non-elite Latin American immigrants, and Japanese, as spoken by laborer immigrants who arrived pre-WWII) are usually the languages of immigrants with a lower socioeconomic status. ELs can be commonly encountered in the US. They hold little prestige for those who speak them, and are viewed negatively as impediments to national unity (adapted from Iino 1993: 101-104; see Table 1). However, the distinctions are not clear-cut. In the US situation, both Spanish and Japanese may be considered both FLs and ELs, but the main goals of teaching them outside heritage language communities and bilingual education have been for FL purposes, such as training, working, or studying in Spanish-speaking countries or with visiting nationals from such countries.

It may seem ironic that we exert an effort, albeit small, for monolinguals to learn FLs, while at the same time we discourage immigrants, who are native speakers of ELs, from maintaining their languages (cf. Lambert 1991b; Iino 1993: 104). Efforts of heritage language programs as well as of maintenance and enrichment bilingual education, have attempted to counteract the effects of policies and attitudes against EL maintenance (see Phillips 1990: 46-48). However, the current dominant view in the US seems to be toward the suppression and eradication of minority languages. Although the learning of FLs in the formal educational system is promoted, it is encouraged and supported to a limited extent.

With the distinction between ELs and FLs in mind, I draw upon Ruiz' (1984) orientations in language planning: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource, to discuss multilingualism in the US context, and later more specifically, foreign language acquisition cultivation planning in the case of the Language and Cultural Perspectives Program (LCP) of the Joseph H. Lauder Institute of Management and International Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. In the US, ELs can be discussed under all three of Ruiz' (1984) orientations in language planning. However, FLs can really only be considered under one: language-as-resource. Overall, the dominant orientation toward language diversity in this country is language-as-problem, as illustrated by the debate on bilingual education and the education of ethnolinguistic minority students.

Retention of ELs is seen as a barrier to social integration and unity within the US. The language-as-problem view has been used either against bilingual education, or when for it, only for transitional bilingual education "which aim[s] toward language shift, cultural assimilation, and social incorporation of language minorities in the national society" (Hornberger 1991: 222). Comparatively, the language-as-right view is used as one argument for maintenance bilingual education. It has also been used to support legislation to insure that one has access to voting, emergency services, social services, legal proceedings, and education, among others in one's own native language. This supports the notion that the use of one's own language is considered a basic human right. The third, the language-as-resource view,

has been used as an argument for both maintenance and enrichment bilingual education. Some proponents argue that learning in more than one language leads to better cognitive abilities, more access to information, and better understanding of other cultures.

On the other hand, FLs in the US are typically regarded as additional resources to be acquired by native monolingual English speakers. However, that has not always been the case. In fact, many colleges and universities have dropped or lowered their foreign language requirements for admission and graduation. This seems to demonstrate that FLs are not always considered to be important resources.

I consider the case of Lauder and other such cases in the US as cases that follow the language-as-resource orientation. Since ELs do not carry much prestige and are not considered major languages for international business, they have been viewed as part of the language-as-problem orientation, not as resources to be developed.[1] It is therefore fitting that they are not included in Lauder's LCP Program. The languages that are included are considered resources, especially since they are important languages for international business. The languages (all of which are FLs) include[2]: French, Spanish, Russian, Mandarin Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and German.

Situating the Lauder case

Traditionally, language planning has been viewed as planning to solve problems concerning language or communication (Cooper 1989: 35). However, Cooper, drawing on Karam (1974), emphasized that motivation for language planning is typically directed toward nonlinguistic ends, for example, those that are political, economic, or scientific in nature (p. 35). It is with this in mind that I consider foreign language acquisition cultivation planning in the US. It views "language planning not as efforts to solve language problems but rather as efforts to influence language behavior" because language and communication problems are not the only issues at hand (p. 35).

Expanding on the traditional distinctions between status and corpus types in language planning first made by Kloss (1969), Cooper (1989: 33) introduced another distinct category, acquisition planning. Acquisition planning is related to status planning in that its main concern is on language spread (p. 33). However, whereas the emphasis of status planning is on increasing the uses or functions of a language or language variety, the emphasis of acquisition planning is on increasing the number of speakers (p. 33). Acquisition planning is not concerned with corpus planning because it does not deal with actual changes in or planning of the language itself.

[1] See Garcia and Otheguy (1994) for a discussion of LOTEs and the important role ELs play as resources in the US in small businesses within minority communities.

[2] English as a second language is also included, but is not discussed herein because it is not an FL in the US and because it is not covered under Title VI, the federal funding.

Table 2
Cooper's preliminary framework for acquisition planning
(reproduced from Cooper 1989: 160)

		overt goal		
		acquisition	reacquisition	maintenance
chief focus of method employed to attain the goal	opportunity to learn			
	incentive to learn			
	both opportunity and incentive to learn			

Cooper's (1989: 160) preliminary framework (see Table 2) for acquisition planning contains two variables. The variables include the overt goal, which may be acquisition, reacquisition, or maintenance, and the chief focus of the method employed to attain the goal, which may be opportunity to learn, incentive to learn, or both opportunity and incentive to learn, thus providing nine categories. The planning case of Lauder will be related to the category in Cooper's framework defined by an overt goal of acquisition and the chief focus on opportunity and incentive to learn.

In addition to the distinction between status and corpus types, another traditional distinction in the language planning literature is made between policy and cultivation approaches (Neustupny (1974) cited in Hornberger 1994: 78-79). Whereas the policy approach is more macroscopic, with concerns at the societal or national level, on form of language(s), the cultivation approach is more microscopic with concerns about the function of language(s) (see Hornberger 1994: 78-79).

Hornberger's (1994: 78) integrative framework of language planning goals (Table 3) expands upon Haugen's (1972, 1983), which includes the distinction between status and corpus types and policy and cultivation approaches. To this she adds Cooper's (1989) acquisition type, thus providing six categories. The cultivation approach and acquisition type category of Hornberger's framework will also be related to the Lauder program.

In the case of Lauder, as with foreign languages in U.S. higher education in general, one of the main motivations behind planning seems to be global economic competitiveness. Much has been written about the importance of support and development of foreign language education in the US for purposes such as international relations, global competitiveness, and national security. (See, for example, Brecht & Walton 1994; Castro 1981;

Table 3
Language planning goals: An integrative framework
(reproduced from Hornberger 1994: 78)

Approaches	Policy Planning (on form) (on function)	Cultivation Planning
Types	Goals	Goals
Status Planning (about users of language)	Standardisation Status Officialisation Nationalisation Proscription	Revival Maintenance Interlingual Communication International Intranational Spread
Acquisition Planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School Literature Religion Mass Media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign Language/ Second Language Shift
Corpus Planning	Standardisation Corpus Auxilliary code Graphisation	Modernisation Lexical Stylistic Renovation Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification

Flynn 1995; Foster 1985; Heller 1983; Lambert 1987, 1990b, 1992, 1994a, 1994b; Phillips 1990; Simon 1980; Tsongas 1981). In concordance with such thought, the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) has been working on a national plan for teaching languages other than English[3] (LOTEs), both within and outside of the formal educational system. This plan focuses on use-oriented needs, such as the needs of students in specific fields like business, science, and engineering in the US (Lambert 1989, 1991b). However, the adoption of such a plan would have to be elected by individual institutions since the federal government has little power over such decisions in higher education. On the other hand, federal funding does impact the shape of the programs it supports as will be illustrated by the Lauder case.

In the next section, the effects of federal support and governmental reactions to global politics and economics on foreign language teaching in the US since the late 1950s is discussed. The initiation of the National Defense

[3] I borrow the term from Garcia and Otheguy (1994) and use it to refer to both FLs and ELs, as they do.

Education Act (NDEA), specifically Title VI, is considered as it applies to foreign language teaching in higher education, and more specifically to the case of Lauder.

Title VI and foreign languages in higher education

After the surprise launching of Sputnik in 1957 by the Soviet Union, which was seen as a considerable threat to US security, attention became focused on a "perceived...foreign language crisis" (Lambert 1992: 6). The US had had no previous inkling that Sputnik was to be launched and the potential for future such events was seen as a threat. The US government realized that if more citizens knew Russian, and by extension other foreign languages, the US might be able to avoid such circumstances. Advanced knowledge from their new resource of people, competent in other languages, would prevent this (Grittner 1982; Lambert 1992; Moore 1994).

The post-Sputnik realization that a lack of foreign language competencies was a threat to national security was the impetus for the passing of the NDEA, including a provision for foreign language teaching known as Title VI. The NDEA Title VI was the first federal funding ever to deal specifically with foreign language instruction. It has provided support for many programs concentrating on foreign language and area studies, including the LCP Program at Lauder (Grittner 1982; Lambert 1992; Moore 1994). The objective of the NDEA was "to insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the *national defense* [my emphasis] needs of the United States" (NDEA, cited in McDonnell, Berryman, & Scott 1981). The original focus of Title VI of the NDEA was the teaching and learning of foreign languages at advanced levels, especially non-Western European languages. Areas outside of Western Europe were considered critical for national security because they had the greatest lack of skilled specialists (Lambert 1992).

Soon after its inception, Title VI expanded to create centers for international studies, study abroad programs, foreign language and area fellowships, materials development and training for advanced foreign language teaching, as well as other projects related to foreign language and area studies (Lambert 1991a, 1992). Spanish, French, and German, particularly at the advanced levels, were also eventually included due to program demands and a change in congressional intent to include Western European languages (Lambert 1992: 7-8).

As Title VI continued to expand its dimensions of international area studies and to focus less on national defense, it increasingly emphasized global competitiveness, particularly economic competitiveness. It also began to include Latin America in 1960 and Western Europe in 1973 as areas to be studied. In 1980, Title VI of the NDEA was reauthorized under the Higher Education Act (HEA). It began to be administered under the Department of Education (DoE) and was no longer under the Department

of Defense. With the new focus on international competitiveness, links to graduate business schools were firmly established as a provision in Part B, Business and International Education Programs of Title VI of the HEA. Lauder became one of the permanent Resource Centers in International Management Education (RCIME) under Title VI in 1985, one year after it came into existence. (Lambert 1991a; Cowles 1993).

In the next section, the Lauder Institute through its promotion of FLs in its LCP Program is considered as a case in foreign language acquisition cultivation planning. The Lauder case is applied to relevant language planning frameworks and discussed in relation to Title VI of the HEA.

The Lauder case

As discussed earlier, Lauder's LCP Program can be seen in light of both Cooper's (1989) preliminary framework for acquisition planning and Hornberger's (1994) integrative framework of language planning goals. Using Cooper's framework, the overt goal is the acquisition of an FL at an advanced level that is important for business and management. This goal is reached by achieving a Superior level rating on the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) exam administered by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). This is required for graduation and considered the minimum level for professional proficiency. The chief focus of the method used to attain such a goal is both opportunity and incentive to learn.

Cooper's category of both opportunity and incentive to learn echo an earlier statement by Haugen: "Prestige must somehow be established and opportunity ("access") provided for those who wish to learn (1966: 65). Prestige is a great incentive to learn or at least participate in Lauder's LCP Program. It is anticipated that advanced language abilities will be well-regarded in the business world and therefore assets to students during job recruitment. As for opportunities to learn, they are extensive and spread throughout Lauder's two year program, as described below.

The program begins with a one month orientation at Lauder for all incoming students. The orientation includes intensive language and culture classes appropriate for the country and region of specialization. After orientation, students are grouped according to their languages of study and begin a two month summer language and cultural immersion in a country relevant to each language and area of focus. During each semester of the two year program, students attend approximately 55 hours of courses and specialized seminars which integrate language, business, and culture. These seminars are often led by native speaking guest professionals in business or government. After the first year, students have further opportunity to learn through expected participation in a summer internship in their area of focus. Additional incentive to attain a high proficiency level is a special language honors distinction at graduation for those who achieve higher than an ACTFL OPI Superior rating (above 3 on the Foreign Service

Institute scale).[4] However, the actual motivation instilled by this opportunity is questionable and students may not perceive other benefits beyond the distinction.

As applied to the Lauder case, Hornberger's (1994) framework, like that of Cooper (1989), would categorize Lauder's LCP Program as acquisition type planning with the additional definitional dimension of the cultivation approach. Lauder is, thus, an example of foreign language acquisition cultivation planning for higher education in the US. Its goals are to increase the number of FL users in the proficiency required for business and management and for these FL users to acquire higher skills and expanded functions to cover a wide range of social and professional contexts, including "substantial knowledge of the contemporary and traditional culture of educated native speakers of the language of study" (Lauder Institute 1995: 11). The number of users is increased through participation in the program while functions are expanded through the opportunities described above.

One of the main motivations behind planning in the Lauder case, and with current foreign language study in U.S. higher education in general, seems to be global economic competitiveness. Foreign language competencies are seen as resources, or as tools, for doing business abroad and with people of other countries. It should be stressed again that FL competencies and not EL competencies are promoted as resources. As discussed earlier, ELs are generally viewed under the language-as-right or language-as-problem orientation and only marginally as resources. On the other hand, FLs, when regarded at all, are generally considered as resources, as is the case with the languages taught at Lauder.

All of the languages (Spanish, Russian, Portuguese, Mandarin Chinese, French, German, and Japanese) included as part of Lauder's LCP Program are FLs that are considered critical languages. They are eligible for funding under Title VI because they are offered at advanced levels of instruction, they have large numbers of speakers, they are important for management, and they are considered strategic for international business. German, for instance, is included because it is an important language of management and business in the former Eastern Bloc countries where economic development is growing. (M. A. Cowles, personal communication, March 28, 1996).

As mentioned earlier, Lauder was awarded Title VI funding in 1985 as one of only a few Resources Centers in International Management Education (RCIME). It teaches foreign languages critical for management and business

[4] The ACTFL scale is based on the FSI scale, but only rates 3 levels instead of 5 as does the FSI scale. The ACTFL OPI is intended for mainly academic purposes which do not usually need to make a distinction above level 3/Superior. In addition, whereas the FSI scale and the lower levels on the ACTFL scale make distinctions between low, mid, and high, the Superior ACTFL level does not.

purposes as part of its LCP Program within its overall dual MBA/MA program. In addition to teaching advanced level critical languages, Lauder, as an RCIME, provides outreach services both in the local community and worldwide. For example, the LCP Program staff and faculty give presentations and workshops on curriculum design, program creation, assessment, and implementation for advanced language skills, especially for professional business purposes. As an RCIME, Lauder is expected to develop new models for advanced language teaching. (M. A. Cowles, personal communications, March 26 & 28, 1996). In this regard, at least, Lauder and other RCIMEs influence the federal government, or the DoE, in setting the policy for funding requirements of other programs receiving funding under Title VI.

In sum, it may be helpful to summarize the Lauder case in terms of the question, "*Who* plans *what* for *whom* and *how*?" (Cooper 1989: 31). Planning is done at the federal level by the DoE from which Title VI funds are disseminated. Additional influence is brought to bear by organizations such as the NFLC, ACTFL, and Title VI's own RCIMEs with regard to program design, evaluation and focus of instruction (which is moving toward content-based and use-oriented instruction) (cf., Lambert 1991b, 1992; M. A. Cowles, personal communication, March 28, 1996). As a result, actual planning for foreign language acquisition cultivation in US higher education stems from these agencies. This level of control is regulated though by a reliance on Title VI grants which are reviewed for renewal every three years.

What is planned in this case is foreign language acquisition and cultivation, for graduate students of business and international studies in the LCP Program. Planning for advanced competency in languages which are designated as important for business and management means that FL competency is seen as an added resource. The planning decisions are primarily implemented on the local level by the program director and language instructors. The main goal of Title VI is for advanced level language training related to business, but much of how that is achieved is left to the individual programs, especially at the RCIMEs such as Lauder. One language assessment measure for program and student success, used by Lauder and approved under Title VI, is the use of the ACTFL OPI exam (cf. Lambert, 1992; M. A. Cowles, personal communication, March 28, 1996).

Outcomes of the planning in this case are generally successful, but the results are somewhat more complicated. These are discussed in the following section.

Conclusion

Globalization, *global economy*, and *global village* are currently very fashionable buzzwords in business and many other professions. The Lauder Institute is one example of the attempt by U.S. graduate business schools to provide their students with the language, business, and cultural training necessary to work successfully with native speakers as well as in foreign

countries. In fact, a recent article in *International Business* magazine depicted Lauder graduates with their international training as some of the most sought after business school graduates by major worldwide companies (1995: 26). This alone as a measure would seem to indicate at least general success of Lauder's program. However, the foreign language competencies of U.S. students may not be as highly valued for international companies as one might expect.

More often than not international companies would rather hire a person native to a certain region or country who has been educated in the US rather than a person from the US who has strong language, business, and cultural competencies appropriate for the region or country in question. When U.S. business persons are selected for assignments abroad, language fluency and cultural sensitivity are often not factors. Lauder is an example of the attempt business schools are making to reverse this trend. However, a change in attitudes held by the companies who hire graduates is necessary for this to happen. (cf., Lambert 1980, 1990a).

Lauder's students themselves must also perceive their advanced language and cultural competencies as important in order to fully regard this case of foreign language acquisition cultivation planning as successful. According to a survey carried out by the NFLC (Lambert 1993), by the end of their two-year program, many Lauder students valued only their MBA courses and considered the MA portion of their program irrelevant to their future careers. As for the LCP Program component, students have also been known to give it secondary importance after their business courses. In fact, two of the instructors have claimed that their objectives have had to be changed to meet their students' needs of maintaining their language levels at Superior, once they reach it, instead of enhancing their skills beyond it ([Teacher A], [Teacher B], Spring, 1996, personal communications).

While it may be true that the language improvement effort levels of students decline after they reach Superior ratings, it is also true that the main goal of getting students to reach Superior ratings is achieved. However, a Superior rating is considered the minimum threshold level for professional communication and students should be instructed and encouraged to go beyond that (M. A. Cowles, March 28, 1996, personal communication). Changes in the LCP Program to promote this are currently underway. For example, during the Fall, 1996 term, a new advanced class has been offered only to students who have attained a Superior rating, in order further enhance their language abilities. Plans are currently underway to offer similar options for the other languages for the following term (R. Díaz, personal communication, October 17, 1996).

It thus seems just to consider the LCP Program as a successful case in foreign language acquisition cultivation planning. It may not be the ideal, but as with any successful and innovative program, modifications are continuously being made. In fact, the LCP Program is considered a model program for use-oriented foreign language instruction, which is the

current direction promoted by the NFLC with the support of several national foreign language associations (Lambert, 1991b; M. A. Cowles, personal communication, March 28, 1996).

On many campuses today, traditional language courses offered by language and literature departments are not meeting the use-oriented needs of students in other fields, such as business, science, and medicine. Some business schools actually incorporate proprietary language schools, such as Berlitz, into their programs instead of turning toward their own campus resources (cf. Lambert 1994a: 51). Lauder's LCP Program offers an example of a successful program of foreign language acquisition cultivation planning in U.S. higher education which continuously develops and revises use-oriented instruction to meet the needs of its own students. Other such programs do exist and are growing, but the US still lags behind much of the world in teaching, learning, and promoting the use of foreign languages. However, the collaboration of the NFLC, model programs such as Lauder's LCP Program, and other organizations to construct a kind of national plan for use-oriented language instruction in the US is one step toward catching up and remaining competitive with the rest of the world. This collaboration is productive, in part, because it offers the influences of different perspectives.

Language instruction in higher education is undergoing rapid changes to meet the diverse and growing needs of its students. Further efforts should be made to include ELs as valued resources for U.S. society (cf. Lambert 1994a). In addition, campus resources should be pooled together to meet the needs of all students so there is collaboration of perspective and efforts on the local level to meet students' use-oriented needs in different fields. At the University of Pennsylvania, such a process has begun through the efforts of another program called the Penn Language Center. Its primary goal is to teach what are known as the less commonly taught languages of the world (H. Schiffman, PLC meeting, March 21, 1996). Tracking the development of such collaborations at the University of Pennsylvania and other universities over time is needed in order to demonstrate their levels of success and continue to make progress in the area of language and cultural development.

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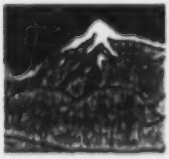

Charting New Directions: Of Communication in a Social Service Setting

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The use of microethnography can provide valuable insights into the way communication activities are structured and the degree to which they are successful. As part of a research agenda, microethnographic analysis allows for a close look at the relationship among linguistic, non-verbal, and proxemic cues exchanged by participants. This paper uses such an analysis in examining the interaction between a welfare caseworker and a client as they address the client's employment and educational options. Implications are discussed regarding the creation and maintenance of participants social roles as exemplified by their communicational behavior.

Research utilizing the approaches of ethnographic microanalysis has as one of its primary components the audiovisual recording of participants in naturalistic settings engaged in activities considered routine. A central question for researchers in this orientation concerns the ways in which communicative interaction is achieved with a particular focus on the integration of verbal and non-verbal modes of expression. In a sense, the how of communicational activity takes precedence over the what of linguistic content. Erickson (1992a) provides an overview of the intellectual traditions that have influenced microethnography as well as discussion on key areas of data collection and analysis. Microanalysis has been shown to be an effective manner of examining communication behaviors in educational settings (Erickson and Shultz,1982; McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1979) as researchers are able to capture a level of detail that may escape the unaided eye. While the techniques and tools of this approach offer precision, they are not seen as a substitute for other methods of data collection, but rather as part of a comprehensive research agenda.

This paper provides a microethnographic perspective on the communicational activities that transpire between a social service caseworker and a client in a Department of Public Assistance welfare office. For many individuals, access to educational and employment opportunities is frequently contingent on the successful negotiation of various bureaucratic

governmental institutions, and it is important that teachers are aware of the challenges students often face before even entering the classroom. My interest in looking closely at an interaction in the Department of Public Assistance (DPA) stems from an assignment I gave to students in an adult education class in Philadelphia. I asked the group to write about what they felt was wrong with the welfare system and ways in which improvements might be made. In a majority of the essays, people included communication problems with representatives of DPA as a central concern. Previously, I interviewed a number of class participants about their encounters with caseworkers and other welfare department representatives in an attempt to locate specific areas of interaction that were problematic. However, I had no discussion with DPA officials nor did I observe any of the types of interactions students were discussing. This paper details an attempt to look closely at the communicative behaviors of two individuals as they negotiate an interview that is a standard component of the Department s processing of welfare clients.

In analyzing the interaction between caseworker and client, I would like to consider three general theoretical propositions regarding communication in face-to-face settings. The first is the integration of speaker/listener roles (Goffman,1963; Erickson and Shultz, 1982; Erickson, 1986) which emphasizes the mutual attention and resulting responses humans are continuously involved in when speaking to one another. Rather than viewing participants as fulfilling discrete functions at different points in a conversation, this unified perspective considers behaviors simultaneously as a way of accounting for communicative achievement. Secondly, I will focus on the redundancy of various prosodic and non-verbal modes as integral factors in conveying meaning and structuring the interactional environment (Gumperz, 1982; Erickson, 1992). What work is being done? What messages are sent ? The question of how a sequence of utterances is organized so as to produce a conversation in which not only is something talked about, but a range of interactional activities is also accomplished (West and Zimmerman 1982: 519) will be considered throughout the analysis. The assertion that in such apparently unremarkable behaviors...lies orderliness (p.520), calls for an effort to describe *how* this actually occurs. Finally, I would like to look at the participants use of resources available in the immediate environment and the ways this contributes to the roles they play in the interaction. In addition to the theoretical background and the video recording of interaction , I will draw on my conversations with the caseworker regarding DPA regulations and processes as well as her explanation of various official forms.

Before proceeding to a close analysis of the interaction, I would like to provide a brief overview of the methods used in a microethnographic approach and further background on my data collection procedure. A basic underpinning of the research is that communication can be more fully examined when all modes of interactional activity are considered. One of the

initial challenges in this type of work is to shift attention away from the verbal exchanges among participants to a much more integrated perspective that focuses equally on the paralinguistic, proxemic, and kinesic elements of interaction. If we accept that the verbal component provides only part of the overall meaning in communicational activities, it seems reasonable that we would want to look closely at those elements that play an equal or greater role in directing interactional sensibilities.

The use of video recording is a fundamental tool in microethnography as it provides an opportunity not only for repeated viewing, but also speed alterations which allows for still-shot frame analysis of the interaction. There are several important guidelines in shooting footage that bear directly on the quality of analysis that can be done. Erickson and Wilson (1982) argue for the use of a stationary, wide angle shot that captures participants in a single frame. The objective is to record the naturally occurring shape and sequence of the action as it unfold(s) across real time (p.43) as opposed to documentary model filming characterized by varied angles, close-ups, and panning. A complete, unedited picture is most desirable as one of the main goals is to be able to observe the simultaneous interactional work of participants. The use of video-recording greatly enhances the researcher s ability to consider the full catalogue of communicational devices humans employ and to pay close attention to those instances in which propositional content is being conveyed most clearly through nonverbal channels. Video provides detail that is simply unavailable through traditional audio methods and, while it may not be necessary for every step of the research process, the selective use of this procedure adds significantly to the type of analysis that might be done.

In order to film the interaction between the caseworker and client, I first received approval from the Executive Director of DPA, the District Administrator, and the caseworker. The caseworker then explained the project to clients and asked if they would be willing to participate. If a client agreed to this initial request, I would provide details of the project and a written agreement which all three parties signed. The understanding was that the client's identity would remain confidential; that, if at any point during or after the filming the client changed his/her mind about participating the footage would be discarded; and finally, that any client who wished to have a copy of the tape would be provided with one. Other than negotiating this agreement, my interaction with the clients was minimal, however I did have several conversations with the caseworker regarding various technical issues that arose during the meetings.

Setting and Interactional Analysis

The meeting between the caseworker and the client is part of the Employment Training Program (ETP) under New Directions, a state-wide initiative aimed at encouraging educational and employment opportunities

to citizens on public assistance. Beyond their regular caseworker who addresses issues such as cash grants, food stamps, and medical assistance, welfare recipients are assigned to a special ETP worker who focuses specifically on the client's goals related to job training, classes, and actual job leads. The ETP worker is responsible for coordinating the client's needs with the particular service provider or program in which the client is involved. This might include allocations for books and materials, transportation costs, allowances for child care, any number of what are termed supportive services by the DPA. The state may not be involved in the direct delivery of services, but it is the primary resource for clients enrolled in these programs. Allocations are sometimes delivered directly to the program in which the client is participating, or they are added to the regular stipend the client receives as part of public assistance.

The segment taped for this project was the first meeting between the client and the ETP counselor. An overview of the major segments of the interaction is provided in Figure 1. The reasons for the meeting include establishing client's experience and goals, providing information about the program, and coordinating efforts between the state and the agency in which the client is currently enrolled. Specifically, questions of transportation cost reimbursement, attendance verification procedures, and a one time clothing allowance are discussed during the interview.

In deciding which portion of the tape I would give the closest analysis, I used Sacks notion of beginning with simple observations (West and Zimmerman, 1982) as a guide. However, where Sacks is concerned with the words used by conversational partners, the mode that initially caught my attention was not the *verbal* interaction of participants, but rather the physical gestures; specifically, the significant increase in one distinct stretch of the tape of hand and arm movements by the male client. There was no other point in the meeting that contained anything close to the amount of movement represented here. This was the beginning of my simple observation and also, I quickly realized, the end. The minute and six seconds I focused on is far from simple. A remarkable number of events, both interactional and referential, combine to produce a complexly intertwined piece of conversation.

The segment I have analyzed begins at 3:55 and lasts until 5:01 (see Figure 2) in an interview which totaled approximately fourteen minutes. Earlier on, at 1:37, the caseworker asks about the client's employment history, inquiring as to the last place he worked. At 1:45 he responds, *The last place I worked- I worked in a..I worked downtown at a..15th and JFK, a restaurant called Au Bon Pain. I was a baker.* He mentions that he worked there for *about four months* . At 3:55 the caseworker re-introduces this topic in an effort to see whether this is an area the client might pursue in his search for employment. The client responds very clearly that he is not interested in this as a work option [line 5], and it is within this response that he begins the hand and arm movements. In focusing on this behavior I want to con-

sider body language not in the dumb sense of the word, but the way people are framing what they re saying with their bodies (Erickson, lecture, 3/20/96) . I would describe the client's answer as containing three thematic components:

1.) Reasons why he had the baking job. Lines 5-7.
2.) Self-definition and work preferences. Lines 10-11.
3.) Reasons for disliking the baking job. Lines 14-22.

While relating all of this his hands and arms are in a state of near-constant motion. There is a clear sense that a change of context is in progress (Erickson and Shultz, 1981). The questions for me became: What is the functional work that is being accomplished here? and Why is it happening at this particular point in the interview? I think that a brief review of the encounter up until this point is helpful. Through a series of primarily closed-ended questions that the client has answered, the following has been established about him within 3.5 minutes. The client:

-is living in a homeless shelter worked in a bakery for four months
-has been laid off from a job

-suffers from depression has not graduated from high school
-needs to work rather than pursue a G.E.D

Two points from Goffman s Footing framework (1981) seem particularly relevant here. In providing a set of considerations in which to analyze human interaction he states:

> Participant s alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue.

and that,

> A continuum must be considered, from gross changes in stance to the most subtle shifts in tone that can be perceived (p.128).

To look at the projected selves the client has been able to express up to this point in the interview is to see a representation of difficult life circumstances, the positioning of a man in the lower realms of societal expectations and achievements. However, with the question that opens up the transcribed minute, the client takes the opportunity to express a great deal about

his preferences for work and to share past work experiences. Within the context of the interview it would have been perfectly reasonable for him to offer a substantially shorter answer than the one he gave. His detailed explanation and the accompanying gesticulations suggest to me that the client was revealing a new identity, one that had not yet been brought to light in the course of the interview.

Non-verbal behavior and use of immediate resources

The minute of interaction shows significant differences in the way each participant makes use of hands and arms in communication. While a graphic representation would show much more dramatic movement by the client, a close look at the tape reveals that the caseworker too, is involved in a great deal of functional work with her hands. A focus on her strategies begins with a comparison of the desk surface immediately in front of each participant. The caseworker's space is filled with a number of folders, forms, pamphlets, and writing instruments, while the client's area is completely bare. In terms of discourse production resources (Erickson, 1992) the caseworker is supplied with a number of remarkably tangible tools which she can use to direct interaction throughout the interview. In addressing the use of written records or proxy systems in which human behavior is embodied, McDermott and Roth (1978) state that the organization of face-to-face interaction can sometimes be shown to reflect a person's orientation to actors and circumstances not immediately present (p.341). Although she has never met the client, the caseworker knows a great deal about him through information contained in the files in front of her and is able to preface questions with this background knowledge. By comparison, all of what the client says is a result of spontaneous verbalizations of past experiences, opinions, and future plans. In addition, the caseworker records many of the client's answers in writing, further constructing his official record. These activities result in the caseworker being in almost constant physical contact with documents and writing instruments throughout the interview. Her hand movements have less variability than the client's, and, while his serve to add emphasis to statements, exclamation points in the air, the caseworker's hands are generally subdued, enacting an official role in their proximity to official documents.

There is a further interesting phenomenon regarding the interaction of participants with documents during the interview. This is a variation of anthropomorphizing in which the piece of paper being held in the caseworker's hand comes to represent the particular topic being discussed. On three separate occasions the client motions directly to a document while referring to *it* as that which it represents. Initially, the client points to the paper as the Homeless Initiative Program- the job training he is involved in. Soon after, the client nods to the papers on the desk, while referring to them as the welfare meaning the benefits he has been receiving. Finally,

the client gestures with his hand to the forms in the caseworker's hand as they now represent baking and very soon after, with another motion, jobs like that . His references do not result from an *actual* switching of papers in the caseworker's grasp; throughout most of his utterances the document she has been holding remains the same. These actions are noteworthy as they illustrate the tremendous symbolic power of documents and their ubiquitous role in the client's interactions with various social institutions.

Interactional roles and responses

The client's extended turn at talk in the transcribed minute causes a shift in the role of the caseworker. Her primary activity of question-asking now becomes one of providing back-channel responses (lines 8, 12, 15, and 20) during the client's narrative. The phrase used most often by the caseworker is *O.K.* which seems to function as both an acknowledgment and a mild affirmation of what the client has just said. The absence of these utterances would almost surely have reduced the amount of explanation by the client. It is interesting to consider how these back-channels are functioning for the caseworker and the possibility that their meaning shifts even as the phrase remains the same. In addition to being an affirmative response the use of O.K. can be seen as a signal by its speaker that the floor is desired. The doubling of the phrase is the most dramatic example as in *O.K. O.K.* which, simply translated, means **Enough** ; but the intended function can be the same with the single form of the expression. The caseworker's four back-channeling utterances between lines 10-20 occur immediately after the client states a reason why he doesn't want to be involved in a baking job or jobs like that . His statements are centered around a core theme that these types of jobs do not involve much physical activity and that he would be bored in this environment. I would describe his statements as very similar to one another and having a repetitive quality. In the next section I will take a close look at the client's fifth statement about these jobs and the resulting change in context that occurs between him and the caseworker.

The client's statement in lines 21-22 , *I can get bored real quick if I m not doin nothin , you know what I mean?* , is followed, not by a back-channel response from the caseworker, but by a direct question: *Have you been lookin for employment even though you ve been in this program?* . This marks the beginning of a fascinating exchange of contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982) as both participants physically stake out spaces in which to position their talk. As the caseworker asks the question, she fully extends her right arm and brings her hand down on the desk with a series of four quick taps finally letting it rest, still extended. There is also a significant prosodic feature to her question that distinguishes its function as being, at least partly, an attempt to re-gain the floor from the client's persistent explanation. Her question (line 23) manages to include eighteen syllables in under 3 sec-

onds. Compared to her statement which begins the segment (line 1), in which she utters seventeen syllables in 5.5 seconds, this is a full doubling in her rate of speech.

The question is also noteworthy for the response it elicits from the client. Soon after the caseworker begins uttering the question the client gives a slight head nod, and as the caseworker says the word *you've*, the client begins his answer, *Yes I have...* . I am hesitant to label this exchange an interruption as this term suggests an undue amount of assessment on my part. Agreement on what constitutes interruption is entirely dependent on the immediate context of interaction (Erickson, 1992) precluding an outsider's categorization of it as such. A more objective description would be the observation that there is no other point in the entire interview in which the client speaks during an utterance initiated by the caseworker. In addition to his quickened verbal response, the client also makes use of hand and arm movement. In line 25 the client has fully extended his left arm on the desk-top and points the index finger of his left hand into the air while he explains the ways he has been engaged in searching for employment. It is a striking image of the two participants, arms planted on the table, as they negotiate their roles in this setting. As the client speaks the caseworker gives fewer and less engaged back-channel utterances than during his previous turn, and she hastens his conclusion with an effective, triple combination of cuing. With two quick *mhm's*, a sharp turn of the head, and picking up and focusing on a piece of paper, the caseworker again re-gains the floor. With terrific synchrony, the phase ends as both parties pull back their arms- the caseworker to the next form, the client to his side. Fade to black, and a new frame emerges. The caseworker asks, *Do they issue your carfare in this program?*

Concluding Thoughts

I have tried to look closely at the full range of communicational strategies employed by two participants in a formal setting with particular attention to paralinguistic and non-verbal elements. The degree of intricacy and the sheer number of processes that speaker/listeners engage in is quite remarkable. Far from a clear distinction between speaker and listener, human actors are in a near-constant state of providing and monitoring feedback regarding how communication is proceeding through a dynamic interchange of speaker/hearer roles. The words chosen by a speaker are only one part of a message constructed with the aid of numerous non-verbal guides which are assessed with varying degrees of conscious awareness by the listener. The participants use of their bodies and the caseworker's added manipulation of documents and writing implements serve as highly significant cues in the framing of verbal behavior.

In the case of this interview, as in all interaction, participants are called on to enact some semblance of a social role that serves to direct the form and manner of their communicational activity. In analyzing the tape, I am

impressed by how strictly these roles are defined, and I am led to consider their effects on the perpetuation of those who are asked to play them. What issues of identity become embodied in the structure of formal interviews such as this one, and what limits of agency are reinforced? For example, it would be unthinkable for the client, after answering the caseworker's question about employment history, to then ask, *How long have you been working for DPA?* or *What made you decide on this type of career?* That these questions are *obviously* inappropriate causes me not to dismiss them as irrelevant, but to further investigate what basic premises they have violated. I would like to recall, once again, Sacks notion that in such unremarkable behavior...*lies orderliness* (p.520) for, on the one hand, the interaction between the caseworker and the client is truly unremarkable or routine. However, broadening the scope of Sacks observation, I would ask what type of orderliness is being achieved, and, how is each participant responsible for this?

This paper has focused on interaction in a governmental social service institution and has detailed certain issues specific to that location. I think it is clear, however, that the dynamics of communicational activity illustrated here can be seen across a wide variety of settings. In particular, those working within educational programs, in whatever capacity, might focus on how communication is being attempted as a large part of what is or is not achieved.

Familiarity with the approaches of microethnography may encourage a greater degree of awareness of the minute and complex processes involved in making communication work . As part of a larger research plan, microethnographic analysis can provide an invaluably rich view of how interactions are accomplished.

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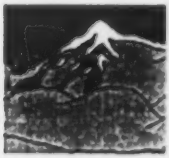

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Appropriacy Planning: Speech Acts Studies and Planning Appropriate Models for ESL Learners

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Since the emergence of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1972a; 1972b), the language teaching field has focused on teaching appropriate language use in addition to general linguistic elements. Speech act studies have contributed to providing appropriate models for second and foreign language learners. In this paper, the effort toward the creation and use of appropriate models for learners in relation to the theoretical framework of planning in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is examined. Based on the findings of the examination and recent criticisms of the attitudes towards teaching appropriateness, directions for future research on communicative competence are proposed.

Although the intent of a series of speech act studies has never been referred to in language policy and planning literature as an aspect of language planning before, the underlying goal of the process, to plan socially appropriate speech models for ESL learners, shares some characteristics with the process of language planning. Thus, in this paper this process will be referred to as "appropriacy planning." Appropriacy planning shares the following three characteristics with the common definitions of general language planning theories: First, one motivation for conducting speech act studies was to provide models to teach socially appropriate speech behavior to ESL learners (e.g., Billmyer 1989). This resembles one aspect of language planning defined as discovering solution to language problems (e.g. Fishman 1971 cited in Karam 1974: 105; Bamgbose 1989: 26; Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971 cited in Fishman 1973: 24). Second, the information from speech acts studies has been used with the intention of changing ESL learners' language behavior (Cohen 1996) through a process involving deliberate intervention in language change (Cooper 1989: 45; Tollefson 1991: 16). Finally, as Saville-Troike (1996: 353) stated, the goal of the studies has been to discover and formulate prescriptive rules of appropriate language use. This is also one of the common characteristics of language planning which deals with the nature of normative or prescriptive linguistics (Haugen 1966: 51-52; Haugen 1969: 287 cited in Karam 1974: 105;

Bamgbose 1989: 26).

The emphasis on appropriate language use in the field of language teaching has its origin in the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1972a, 1972b; Savignon 1972 cited in Savignon 1983)[1]. As opposed to Chomsky (1965), who was solely interested in examining the hypothetical ideal speaker-hearer's speech to theorize competence, Hymes (1972b) emphasized the importance of integrating a speech community's rules for appropriate language use in a given social context with the notion of competence. This concept had a tremendous impact on the field of language teaching. Researchers started to seek pedagogical applications of this notion (e.g. Paulston 1974; Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983 cited in Savignon 1983). Among these researchers' interpretations of Hymes's concept, Canale and Swain's isolation of three, and later four, theoretical components[2] provided a clear guideline for language teachers, and has been widely accepted as a useful interpretation of communicative competence.

In spite of the need to teach rules of speaking, sufficient and adequate descriptions of sociocultural rules of appropriateness were lacking (Wolfson 1989: 79). Formulating explicit rules for non-native speakers to understand unfamiliar culture-specific speech patterns came to be one of the goals in the field of language teaching (Savignon 1983: 37). The Cross-Cultural Speech Acts Realization Project (CCSARP) was promoted to uncover the cross-cultural differences in two specific speech acts: requests and apologies (see Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989 for a detailed description of this project). This project not only provided an ample source of data for speech acts, but also produced useful instruments for data collection and schema for coding the data (Cohen 1996: 387). Since then many researchers have started to conduct studies of speech acts[3] largely with the intention of contributing to materials development and language teaching.

Language planning theory includes several components in its framework. As described above, appropriacy planning is a process of corpus intervention for ESL learners. Thus, I will discuss the case of appropriacy planning in relation to corpus cultivation in the integrative framework created by Hornberger (1994)[4] with the specific focus on the following four stages identified by a number of researchers (e.g., Fishman 1979; Haugen 1983; Rubin 1977)[5]:

1. It seems that both Hymes and Savignon came up with the concept of communicative competence at the same time period. However, the discussion for this paper is primarily based on Hymes' proposal.
2. grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence
3. These researchers and studies will be introduced in the section on "Selection of norm/Fact finding."
4. HornbergerÔs framework is based on the following scholarsÔ works: Ferguson, 1968; Kloss, 1968; Stewart, 1968; Neustupny 1974; Haugen, 1983; Nahir, 1984; Cooper 1989.
5. Fishman (1979) includes decision making stage, elaboration stage and evaluation stage. Haugen (1983) includes selection of norm, codification of norm, implementation of function and elaboration of function. Rubin (1977:284) includes fact finding, establishing goals, strategies and outcomes, implementation and feedback.

(1) Selection of norms

(2) Codification

(3) Implementation

(4) Evaluation/Feedback

The discussion of the selection of norms will reveal problems in the process for finding norms of interaction for ESL learners. Specifically, the following two questions will be examined: How did the researchers uncover norms of interaction? Who was chosen to represent the norms of the culture? In order to answer these two questions, the studies introduced in Cohen (1996: 397-407), and Wolfson (1989: 79-108) will be reviewed since the combination of these studies introduced in these two reviews will provide a comprehensive view of empirically based speech act studies (Cohen 1996: 398). Concerning codification of norms, the question of how the findings were codified, that is, how ESL textbooks were written based on the findings of the studies, will be discussed. For implementation, how the findings were incorporated into instruction will be discussed based on research that examined the impact of formal instruction on the development of sociolinguistic competence. Finally, how the TESOL field has reacted to the process of appropriacy planning will be discussed in the section of evaluation.

Selection of Norms

Before empirical findings of speech acts studies were available, ESL teachers had to rely on their native-speaker intuition to teach rules of speaking. Wolfson (1989: 37), however, questioned the adequacy of the use of native-speakers' intuition for teaching because of the unconscious nature of rules of speaking and norms of interaction. She stated that "native speakers' opinions about what is right and wrong, good and bad, are reflections of community norms or attitudes and have little to do with the actual use of the individual who expresses them"(Wolfson 1989: 40).

Because of the inadequacy of the use of native-speakers' intuition, Wolfson (1989: 48) emphasized the necessity of collecting information on sociolinguistic rules for textbook writers and ESL teachers. Empirical research that attempts to identify and define speech acts has been conducted since the 1960s. As a result, a growing body of empirically-based information on the strategies for performing speech acts has become available. Consequently, the approach for teaching rules of speaking has changed from being based on intuition and anecdote, to empirical evidence, in the last fifteen years (Cohen 1996: 385).

Among the voluminous number of studies covered in reviews by Wolfson (1989) and Cohen (1996), 23 were selected based on the following

Table 1
Methods for collecting speech acts data

	N	%
Naturally occurring data	6	26.1
Experimentally elicited data	14	60.9
Natural + experimental data	3	13.0
Total	23	100.0

criteria in order to examine the questions addressed above[6]:

(1) the studies must be empirically based

(2) the studies must look at American English

(3) the studies must look at adults

(4) the studies must be published after 1980

The rationale for setting criteria (1), (2), and (3) are solely based on the researcher's interest in applications of empirical findings in American English for adult learners. Criterion (4) was set because the studies after 1980 have played the most influential role in accumulating speech acts data sources for the TESOL field (Cohen 1996: 385). Only published studies were included for accessibility and availability reasons.

Two distinctive methods have been widely used for collecting speech acts data. One is to observe naturally occurring speech acts, often described as an ethnographic approach, and the other is to elicit speech acts experimentally through methods such as the discourse completion test (DCT) and role play situations. First used by CCSARP, DCT has been widely used in this field to collect speech act data, because of its effectiveness for gathering a large amount of data quickly. As seen in Table 1, a large number of studies were conducted using experimental elicitation techniques. Examining the validity of these methods for collecting data has been a hot issue, and is currently debated in the literature (e.g. Beebe & Takahashi

6. The following 23 studies were included for this examination: Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1991; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Beebe & Cumming, 1996;Beebe & Takahashi, 1989(a); Beebe & Takahashi, 1989(b); Beebe & Takahashi, 1990; Benander, 1990; Blum-Kulka, 1982; Blum-Kulka, 1989; Boxer, 1989; Clark & French, 1981; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Creese, 1991; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986; Goldschmidt, 1989; Kipers, 1986; Linnell & Porter, et al., 1992; Olshtain, 1983; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Owen, 1980; Takahashi & Beebe, 1993; Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson, 1983. One of the articles includes two studies. Detailed information appears in thebibliography. Under the time constraint and unavailability of materials, I was not able to collect all materials introduced in Cohen (1996) and Wolfson (1989).

1989; Beebe & Cumming 1996; Varghese & Billmyer 1996). This issue is beyond the scope of this paper, it will therefore not be discussed further.

As stated above, most of the researchers of speech act studies have intended to provide useful information for textbook writers and language teachers. Therefore, selection of subjects is a crucial issue because it determines the type of data that will be used as a base for creating appropriate models for learners.

Researchers that employed naturally occurring data have tended to collect data indiscriminately. These researchers attempted to collect data that represents American norms of interaction, avoiding a biased representation. The following statement made in one of the studies conducted by Wolfson (1981: 9) represents the nature and philosophy of this type of research:

> The data ... were gathered through observation and participation in a great variety of spontaneously occurring speech situations. Although no claim is made that the analyses of speech patterns presented here is representative of all speakers of American English, every effort was made to sample the speech of people from as broad a range of occupational and educational backgrounds as possible.

Although researchers of these studies have claimed that they collected data widely enough to represent American speech norms, the information they provide concerning their subjects is vague, and therefore readers of the studies are not able to have a clear idea of exactly who the subjects were. The reliability of this type of research in providing an accurate assessment of the norms of interaction for American English is questionable. However, as Saville-Troike (1996: 366) states, "the selection of regional variety and register becomes an important issue when curricular priorities are established." Thus, if the population of the studies cannot be clearly distinguished, it is difficult to actually apply the research to textbook writing or teaching, particularly when learners have specific goals for studying English, or a specific speech community that they intend to join.

As opposed to studies that employ natural observations, experimental studies tend to provide more detailed information on subjects. Gender, age, occupations, and regional variety of subjects of the 14 experimental studies will be examined to see who was chosen for an appropriate model for learners.

Gender

There are 213 subjects included in the 14 studies. Based on my experience as an ESL student and a teacher prior to this examination, I had an intuitive feeling that speech act models that appear in ESL textbooks, and the examples that teachers provide in a classroom, are heavily based on

Table 2
Gender of the subjects

	N	%
Male	31	14.6
Female	78	36.6
Unspecified	104	48.8
Total	213	100.0

female speech norms. Thus, I , as a male, have not always been comfortable incorporating those models into my repertoire. The result of this examination supports my intuition to some extent (see Table 2). More than twice as many females, 36.6% of the subjects, were specified for the studies compared to males, 14.6% of the subjects. Moreover, the gender of a surprisingly large number of the subjects was unspecified, 48.8% of the subjects.

This reveals one of the problematic aspects of the speech act studies. If these studies have been conducted to uncover norms of interaction in American English, researchers should have been more sensitive to variables such as gender. As Freeman and McElhinny (1996: 220-221) note, culturally contextualized activities, such as various speech acts productions, are structured by ideologies, or cultural values and beliefs. These ideologies may function to constrain people's language use about gender identities and relationships, and are reflected in English. Freeman and McElhinny also stress the importance for ESL teachers to discuss the way gender interacts with culture in the United States to describe social variation to their students (247). In this sense, if the studies do not provide information on the gender of research subjects, teachers have no way to access the findings of the studies for use in their classrooms.

Age

In addition to gender, age is one of the other variables that influences people's choices of speech style (Labov 1968, 1972a, 1972b). Seven studies sis not provide any age information, four studies provided a mean age of the subjects, and 3 studies provided a range of age of the subjects. The mean age and the range of age provide an approximate idea of the subjects' age for readers. The intention of selecting a wide range of subjects in terms of age may have been the researchers' attempt to represent the American norms of interaction. This type of information is useful to furnish students with general norms of interaction in American culture, however, it may be less useful if students have a specific target group to which they would like to assimilate. In addition, half of the studies did not provide information about age. In considering the influence of age on speech productions, the missing information on age, just as with gender, may create problems when textbook writers and teachers attempt to incorporate these studies' findings.

Table 3
Occupations of the subjects

	N	%
Academic	87	40.8
Unspecified	126	59.2
Total	213	100.0

Occupation

Occupation is one of the crucial variables in determining what "speech community" the subjects belong to. Within a speech community, people share rules of speaking and interpretation of speech performance (Hymes 1972a: 34-35). Because of this, it is essential for the speech act studies to specify the subjects' occupations. As seen in Table 3, many of the subjects were chosen from the field of higher education. This includes students, professors, and secretaries who work for universities. The preponderance of subjects from the academic field may be due to the accessibility of such subjects since most of the researchers are affiliated with a university. Presumably many adult ESL students in the US may be intending to go to a university. Thus, information based on these people in the academic field may be useful for these students. However, it may not be as useful for students whose target community is business or industry instead. Again, a large portion of subjects, 59.2%, is still unspecified, and this may create problems in applying the findings to material development and classroom instruction.

Regional variety

In terms of the regional variety of the subjects' speech, none of the studies specified this information. Some of the studies reveal general idea of regional variety in the descriptions of research, such as "the research was conducted in the Philadelphia area", or "urban New York". However, this information does not ensure a specific variety. First, it is difficult to identify and specify a speaker's speech variety. In addition, because many of the studies are conducted in urban areas which experience fluctuations in population make-up, people in one area do not necessarily exhibit the characteristics of that regional variety.

Codification of norms

As mentioned before, one of the goals of CCSARP was to contribute to materials developers, particularly textbook writers (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989: 27). Similarly, most researchers who conduct speech acts studies have indicated their intention to provide useful information for the creation of lively and interesting ESL textbooks (e.g. Wolfson 1989: 79; Beebe, personal communication, February 28, 1996). However, as compared with the relatively large body of studies on various speech acts, and in spite of the researchers stressing the possible contributions for material develop-

ment, there is surprisingly little research available that examines how the research findings are being utilized in creating teaching materials.

One of the few such studies was conducted by Billmyer et al. in 1989. Although it has been seven years since the study was presented, ESL textbooks that focus on acquiring the use of various speech acts have not been published much after the 1990s, so that the textbooks examined in this study are still widely used for teaching various speech acts formulas.

In this study, the researchers examined ten ESL textbooks (see Appendix) that claim to teach the rules of language use. They selected those that were published, mostly in the late in 1980s, a period ESL textbook writers were more likely to have a chance to incorporate empirical findings of speech acts studies since a great deal of empirically-based information of speech act studies had became available at this time (Billmyer et al. 1989: 2-3). The researchers had two foci in examining textbooks: the pedagogical organization of the textbooks and the relationship between the content and the research findings.

In terms of the organization of the textbooks, the researchers isolated the most typical categories found such as presentational or illustrative dialogues, lists of phrases, and oral production exercises. These categories introduce a variety of prescribed speech act formulas, and students are asked to produce them. The researchers warned of the danger of simply practicing the formulas stating that students could end up parroting phrases without reflecting the appropriate social contexts (Billmyer et al. 1989: 5). They emphasized the importance of including categories such as exercises that require students to recognize and interpret a speech act in context, and discussion and analysis activities of a speech act activities that few textbooks included.

In examining how empirical findings of speech act studies were incorporated into ESL textbooks, the researchers found that content did not reflect empirical research findings. According to the study, only two out of ten textbooks cited empirical research. Based on their examinations, three of the textbooks reflected empirical investigations to some extent, although the books did not explicitly provide the source of the research. They judged that five of the books included extremely limited information from empirical research (Billmyer et al. 1989: 13-18).

Their findings reveal the negative aspects of the materials, such as the lack of activities that require students to reflect upon the social context, and the failure to incorporate empirical findings. However, in light of the previous discussion, the question arises as to whether the empirical research really provided useful information for textbook writers or not. As described in the section on selection of norm, the researchers did not provide enough information about the subjects' background. This may have precluded the textbook writers from incorporating the information. Or the discrepancy between the native-speakers' intuitions and the reality as seen by the textbook writers may have caused them to normalize the re-

search findings to make them more appropriate to their native-speaker intuitions.

Implementation

Cohen (1996: 383) stresses that an understanding of speech act theory and practice will assist ESL instructors in teaching more contextually appropriate speech in the target language. However, very few studies have examined how teachers apply speech acts studies to their classrooms and the impact of explicit or implicit instruction in the development of appropriate speech production as Cohen (1996: 409) pointed out. Surprisingly, most of the studies have been published in local publications rather than widely read major journals. This relative lack of studies can be interpreted in several ways. First, in spite of the field's strong emphasis on developing sociolinguistic competence, the empirical studies do not provide specific enough information to apply to actual classrooms, therefore, teachers are experiencing difficulties in implementation. This, in turn, leads to an insufficient number of classrooms which the researchers can study. In addition, the development of sociolinguistic competence is difficult to measure, hence, conclusions are difficult to draw. There are, however, two studies that have looked at the effect of teaching speech acts. Interestingly, one of the studies shows a promising result of instruction, and the other shows little or no effect of instruction.

Billmyer (1990) examined the effect of formal instruction on acquiring skills for giving and replying to compliments. She compared a tutored group to an untutored group to examine the difference in acquisition. All the subjects for the study were Japanese females. During a 12 week period, the tutored group received a total of six hours of explicit instruction on the forms and functions of compliments and replies in addition to general skills ESL courses. During this period, the learners met with their American conversation partners who had been asked by the researchers to perform certain tasks designed to induce compliments. The tape-recorded data of these tasks were evaluated based on the frequency of the learners' use of compliments, level of initiation, appropriateness, and linguistic accuracy. Billmyer concluded that "formal instruction of social rules of language use can assist learners in communicating more appropriately with native speakers of the target language in meaningful social interaction outside of the classroom" (Billmyer 1990: 31).

King and Silver (1993) looked at a different speech act: refusal strategies. Compared to Billmyer's study, their study was small and tested a relatively short period of retention of the effects of instruction. Their control group received regular ESL instruction, and the treatment group that received both explicit and implicit instruction on refusal strategies for one 70-minute-session in addition to regular ESL instruction. The participants' performance on refusal was tested through discourse questionnaires one week after instruction, and two weeks later through a telephone call re-

questing the participants to perform a burdensome activity at a time known to conflict with their schedules. The results of the study showed little effect on the discourse questionnaire, and no effect in performance on the telephone tests.

The reasons for the discrepancies of the results of these two studies are uncertain. However, these studies may reveal important questions for implementing the findings of empirically-based speech act studies. First, Billmyer had access to ample empirical findings for teaching compliment strategies of American English, and was able to incorporate these into the instruction, whereas due to time constraints, King and Silver were unable to obtain access to such studies. This caused them to create formulas for instruction, presumably relying on their native-speaker intuition. Although it cannot be concluded that the effectiveness of instruction depends on whether empirical data were incorporated into instruction or not, the incorporation of such information still needs to be examined. In addressing the problem of developing materials, researchers need to communicate with practitioners more to meet actual classroom needs. King and Silver (1993: 74) expressed their concerns as follows:

> A more complete description of American English refusal strategies is required. Without this information, it is impossible to begin to design accurate lessons on American English refusals. In addition, information about the saliency of the constituents would be useful when considering what to teach. If we knew which elements of refusals were most salient to native-speakers, instruction might focus on those elements.

Second, the way King and Silver tested the students' production was quite different from Billmyer's study. In Billmyer's study, the students were tested during a session with their conversation partners. In this situation the students had already established relationships with their partners. In addition, the speech act patterns for compliments were practiced with the same partner. This may have created a comfortable situation for the students to try out what they had learned. In contrast, King and Silver called up the participants of the study suddenly, and the participants were asked to perform in a psychologically unprepared situation. This difference for testing may have played a role in causing different conclusions.

Finally, the number of hours of instruction on the speech acts, and the period for the instruction are quite different between these two studies. As Olshtain and Cohen (1990) indicated, acquiring native-like sociolinguistic competence is a long and arduous process. Learners usually take up to 10 years to acquire native-like competence, but still maintain features that are particular to their native language. Based on the research findings, it is

clear that learners acquire sociolinguistic competence by experiencing many different types of interactions with different people in different contexts over an extended time period. Thus, it may not be feasible to teach sociolinguistic competence as a skill in a microcosm classroom culture that does not necessarily match that of the outside world (Paulston 1974, as cited in Savignon 1983: 25; Hornberger 1989: 229; Saville-Troike 1996: 364).

Evaluation/feedback

Although speech act studies have contributed to the planning and teaching of appropriacy for ESL learners, there are, as discussed above, a number of problems identified in this process. In this section, the process of appropriacy planning will be reexamined by presenting some recent concerns for teaching appropriateness from researchers in sociolinguistics.

Even before speech act studies became available, and before the pedagogical implications of these studies were incorporated into instruction in a systematic way, Paulston (1974: 354 as cited in Saville-Troike 1996: 366) expressed concern about imposing prescribed expressions on language learners. In her opinion, teaching these prescribed expressions and requiring students to produce them are problematic because the process denotes eradication of social interactional rules of their first language in order to substitute another. The ideological struggle that learners experience in the process of learning a second or foreign language needs to be taken into consideration to provide a less painful learning experience (Chick 1996: 343).

In relation to the consideration of the learners' ideologies, some researchers are questioning whether target language norms are the only appropriate goals of second language learners. Saville-Troike (1996: 363) expresses the danger of teaching only target language norms, as these norms "in many cases constitute an inappropriate target for instruction." Even though learners live in the target language speech community, their attempts to imitate the norms of the language such as the use of polite expressions, may be perceived as inappropriate by native-speakers (Iino 1996). Kubota (1996) examined request patterns of American learners of Japanese. He studied five learners who had extensive experience living and working in a target language culture. These learners developed styles, which, although not native-like, allowed them to feel comfortable, while still not committing a violation of the rules. This research finding suggests that the major task of language teachers may be to assist learners to define a "third place" for themselves that is not only appropriate for the target language culture, but also preferable for the learner (Kramsch 1993: 257).

In addition to the concern for learners' psychological conflicts in learning and incorporating new cultural norms, Fairclough (1989: 8) states that imposing prescribed appropriate formulas might hinder healthy social mobility. Sociolinguistic studies have shown that there are systematic correlations between variations in linguistic form and social variables (p. 7).

However, if language teachers use these findings as models, and require their students to imitate them, the instruction would play a role in perpetuating the present societal characteristics. Language teachers need to be aware that they are playing a role in the underlying power relations of the society, and legitimizing the facts believed in the society through imposing the findings of sociolinguistic studies, which may or may not be appropriate (Fairclough 1989: 8).

There are also criticisms of the nature of the process of speech act studies that place too much emphasis on identifying and formulating surface structures of rules of speaking. It is inevitable for second language learners to pay close attention to surface structures that are internalized and unconscious to native speakers (Labov 1979: 229). However, problems arise in the process of formulating models of surface structures. Although sociolinguistic studies have shown the correlations between speakers' speech style and characteristics of speakers' distinct speech communities, such as ethnicity, social class, regional variety, gender, age, and occupational background (Fairclough 1989: 8), researchers of speech acts studies tend to overemphasize the characteristics. These researchers' attempts have resulted in the creation of model dialogues in ESL textbooks that are oftentimes stereotypical, even though they are formulated on empirical findings (Erickson 1996: 291-292). Erickson continues:

> What may be intended by curriculum developers as "high-fidelity" simulation is in fact a "low-fidelity" simulation. People do not really learn to converse by memorizing written dialogues and speaking them aloud in practice sessions, even if the dialogue text comes from a detailed transcription of naturally occurring speech.

If language teachers attempt to push learners to understand deeper levels of communicative competence beyond surface linguistic structures, the considerations of psychological and sociolinguistic factors may influence the constitution of the norms of interaction (Saville-Troike 1996: 367). Once findings of speech act studies are formulated into model dialogues that we can see in ESL textbooks, the appropriateness introduced in the dialogues tends to be seen as static, and the factors that are specific to a context would be left out.

In response to the problems of formulating appropriate models, some researchers advocate views that look at the creation of appropriacy in face-to-face interaction as more fluid or dynamic (Erickson 1996: 292; Iino 1996). Erickson states that what is always at work creating the appropriacy in a particular situation is the mutual influence of interactants. After examining dinner table conversations between American students and Japanese host families, Iino (1996) found that appropriacy is always negotiated and

defined between interactants situationally and personally. This finding suggests that the models introduced in textbooks may not be appropriate in a different situation or when they are produced by a person with a different background.

Considering the criticism and problems in teaching sociolinguistic competence discussed above, I would like to present some suggestions made by researchers that the language teachers can incorporate into classroom instruction. Saville-Troike (1996) introduced the use of "ethnography of communication" in teaching the norms of a target language. Learners can benefit by using this technique to find the norms of the language culture by themselves. Learners are often required to go out and observe what native-speakers are really doing, interpreting the meaning specific to the context (Saville-Troike 1996: 376). This technique seems to be gaining popularity as a method for teaching rules of speaking. However, problems still arise because of its time-consuming nature, and inapplicability in the foreign language teaching context. To solve this problem, Erickson (1996:298-299) suggests the use of videotapes in classrooms. According to Erickson, videotaped materials of naturally occurring speech behaviors provide learners with deeper insights on the target language's norms of interaction.

Conclusion

Several problematic aspects of appropriacy planning have been identified. First, researchers in speech act studies tended to be negligent in defining the speech community that they were looking at. This resulted in material developers' difficulty in incorporating findings into their textbooks. Second, researchers may not have had sufficient communication with language teachers. Hence, the teachers still end up relying on their native-speakers' intuition in teaching appropriateness because of the lack of appropriate information. Finally, the appropriacy identified by researchers may not be applicable for all situations and all learners.

Needless to say, information in ESL textbooks, and classroom activities should reflect the reality that ESL learners will face in their lives, and empirically based findings may provide useful information that reflects reality. However, if the intention of researchers in speech act studies is really to contribute to materials development, researchers should communicate with textbook writers, and teachers in order to uncover what types of information are sought for textbook writing.

The focus of the TESOL field has shifted from prescribing and teaching appropriate formulas to building sensitivity toward appropriateness. Teachers are now required to make decisions on what to teach explicitly, and how to guide learners to identify and define appropriateness for themselves. I strongly feel the necessity for conducting research regarding developing learners' communicative competence in order to provide teachers with clearer guidance. First, the appropriateness of speech behavior for second language learners needs to be redefined. Second, the effect of

building the learners' sensitivity through introducing technique such as "ethnography of communication" on the development of sociolinguistic competence needs to be examined. Third, whether learners really experience an ideological struggle or not in incorporating new cultural norms needs to be investigated. Finally, what type of information and teaching technique make teachers feel more comfortable and empowered need to be examined. I believe that these types of studies will shed light on determining what needs to be done for development of ESL learners' sociolinguistic competence.

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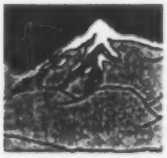

APPENDIX

ESL textbooks examined in Billmyer et al. 1989

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Dear WPEL readers,

It is a pleasure to present you with our latest issue of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* from the Language in Education Division of the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education. As always, we offer outstanding "working" contributions in educational linguistics from our students and faculty.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication in the top journals in our field. Most recently, a version of the article **What Can Second Language Learners Learn from Each Other? Only their Researcher Knows for Sure** by Teresa Pica, Felicia Lincoln-Porter, Diana Paninos, and Julian Linnell (vol. 11, no. 1) went on to appear in *TESOL Quarterly* and received its 1996 Best Research Article award.

In this issue:

Tresa Pica reviews theoretical principles, research findings and classroom concerns and demonstrates how components of traditional methods can be intergrated with recent communicative approaches.

Haimanti Banerjee describes effective use of Suggestopedia in which distinctive features of this approach are used to promote inguistic and cultural awareness.

Serafín Coronel-Molina presents a case study of the status of Quechua in Peruvian society.

Yuko Nakajima examines experiences that facilitate Japanese businessmen's acuisition of American-like politeness strategies.

Ann Pomerantz looks at the role of narratives in research.

The editors publish an index of WPEL volumes from 1984 to present, and launch or Ph.D. dissertation abstract section for doctoral graduates of the Language Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

In addition to our advisor, Kendall King, we gratefully ackknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: the authors, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, Penny Creedon, Suzanne Oh, and William Brickman.

We hope that you find the following selected contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

Tradition and Transition in Second Language Teaching Methodology

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The field of English language teaching is in transition. Neither traditional methods of classroom instruction, nor more recent, communicative approaches, when used alone, have been able to address the scope and level of English proficiency required for participation in today's global community. What appears to be needed is a principled integration of the two. This paper will attempt to provide such an integration by drawing on theoretical principles, research findings, and classroom concerns. It will illustrate how components of traditional methods, including grammar instruction, correction, dictation, dialogue, and native language usage, can hold continued significance for language learning, when integrated into communicative questioning strategies, participation patterns, and interactive materials. Throughout the paper, these illustrations of integration will be contextualized, described, and supported through references to research.

The field of language teaching has been one of tradition and transition since its inception hundreds, indeed, by some accounts, thousands of years ago (See Howatt 1984, Kelly 1969, and Richards & Rodgers 1986). The teaching of the English language, although a much newer pursuit than the teaching of languages such as Greek and Latin or Chinese, for example, has already been through many transitions in methodology. What are now considered traditional methods were once the innovations of their time, characterized by the attitudes and values of their creators, who recommended that other educators abandon one method and choose another, with unquestioning optimism, as though this latter were the solution to their classroom concerns. (See Clarke 1982).

In the past fifty years alone, English language teaching has gone through a whirlwind of transitions in its methodology, from grammar translation to direct method, to audiolingualism, to cognitive code, and a host of variations in each. Other methods, whose range of implementation has been much smaller in scope, have also been introduced. Among the most popular of these are Silent Way (Gattegno 1972), Total Physical Response (Asher 1969), Suggestopedia (Lazanov 1978), and Counseling Learning (Curran 1972).

In recent years, the most substantive transition in English language teaching has taken place through a collection of practices, materials, and beliefs about teaching and learning that are known by many different names, for example, communicative methodology, communicative language teaching, and communicative approach. (See again, Richards & Rodgers 1986)

Currently, English teaching methodology is going through yet another transition. This transition is the outgrowth of two highly linked developments in the wider field of language studies: First, there has been a broadening in the scope and diversity of English language use needed for participation in today's global community. This development has been accompanied by a recognition of the need to guide English language learners toward high levels of proficiency, and to do so as effectively and efficiently as possible.

Secondly, there has been a growing body of research that is related to instructional issues. The findings of such research have indicated that learners need a balance of communication, instruction, and correction to guide the learning process. Further, these findings have suggested teaching and learning strategies, materials, and tasks that can integrate these experiences for learners in ways that are efficient and effective.

What is emerging is a methodology that integrates instructional assumptions and components of traditional and communicative methods. It is this integration that will be discussed throughout this paper. First however, the paper will review several traditions that characterize most every method, across transitions and over time.

Traditions in teaching methodology

Each of the above methods has its own distinctive characteristics, of course, but together they share several important commonalities. First, every method purports to be a better method than other methods, and each has commanded both a loyal following of supporters and a disbelieving chorus of skeptics. Indeed, an increasing number of methodologists would argue that none of these methods could possibly meet all of a learner's needs.

As many researchers point out, in addition, language teaching and learning are too complex for any individual method to be able to address for an extended period of time. (See, for example, Kumaravadivelu 1994). Far more critical to a learner's success is a teacher who is informed about learning processes, is aware of, and sensitive to, learner needs, and uses a variety of teaching skills to guide and assist the learning process. (See Prabhu 1990 for further discussion).

Second, each method is affected by the contexts in which it is implemented. Thus, even the most prescriptive or rigid method will be implemented differently, depending on whether it is being used within a second or a foreign language environment, in a large class or on an individual basis, to teach children, adolescents, or adults. Factors such as the educa-

tional and professional background of the teachers also play a critical role in the ways in which a method is employed. (See illustrative studies in Chaudron 1988).

Third, each method embraces a number of goals, concerns, and values that have been sustained over time. These traditional goals, concerns, and values have shaped the ways in which educators have approached each transition in methodology or adapted to transitions forged by others. Thus, these goals, concerns, and values remain a constant in our current English teaching.

What are the common goals concerns, and values that most educators share no matter what methods they use, or choose not to use? These will be described in the following section.

Tradition in goals, concerns, and values

Our goals are numerous, but one of our foremost goals is that our students succeed in their language learning. Whether we are classroom practitioners, methodologists, or policy makers, we feel a responsibility toward helping students toward success. As we try to meet this goal, we share several serious concerns. These concerns cluster around our many responsibilities as educators. We want to make sure that our students meet criteria for success in their current classrooms, as well as in future contexts and potential endeavors that require knowledge and use of another language.

Together, these concerns find particular focus in the case of English. So diverse is English language use in today's global community, that success for our students might mean any number of things, and, all too often, many things, from accomplishing daily classroom tasks and assignments, to passing school-wide examinations, to preparing for the next level of instruction, to excelling on college and university entrance or qualifying examinations, to applying skills in communication for travel, business, academic, and professional pursuits. Together with our students, we share a concern that there might be too much for them to learn and therefore ever so much for us to teach.

Our values are typically focused on a few time cherished traditions. We value the profession of teaching, and the work of teachers. We are sensitive to our role in adjusting our methods so that they are appropriate to the needs, goals, and expectations of our students, and in compliance with the educational and financial resources of the schools, colleges, and universities in which students pursue their language studies.

These are a few of the time honored goals, concerns, and values we bring to the classroom, no matter which method we employ in our teaching. Communicative methodology, too, embraces these goals, concerns, and values. Its goal is student success. It is concerned with students' current, future, and potential needs for language learning. It values the teacher in this process. What sets communicative methodology apart from other methods, however, is its view of the classroom processes through which teach-

ers can best assist students in meeting their goals and addressing their concerns. These processes have been actualized through classroom activities and instructional techniques that have emphasized communication as a way to learn. As will be discussed in the following section, it is this behind communicative methodology which is called into question, and has served to shape the transition in our field at this time.

Transition in English teaching methodology

During this time of transition in language teaching methodology, as traditions of other methodologies interface with communicative methodology, it is important to point out the very robust contributions that communicative methodology has made to the education of language learners. Such contributions help to explain how it is that communicative methodology is leading the transition in English teaching methodology.

Much of communicative methodology was developed as definitions of language competence expanded from grammatical competence to communicative competence, and gave rise to new thinking about the importance of communication to the purposes of language, to the needs of learners, and to the processes of language learning. This modified perspective on language competence has been demonstrated throughout the classroom activities, materials, and instructional strategies of communicative methodology. As such, they focus on language as it is used for purposes of communication, and are designed for learners whose needs extend across the multiplicity of uses noted in the previous section. In addition, these activities, materials, and strategies of communicative methodology have modified the appearance of the language classroom.

Thus, in many communicative classrooms, grammar rules are made available to learners in indirect ways, through reading and listening to meaningful, comprehensible input. These practices often de-emphasize, and even supplant, direct instruction. A tolerance of learners' grammatical errors is frequently preferred over correction thereof, with this latter strategy reserved for errors in the communication of message meaning.

In addition, traditional techniques such as dictation, recitation, drill, and dialog are typically placed in the background, or eliminated entirely in communicative classrooms, in order to emphasize classroom communication and discussion. Teacher-fronted lessons are substituted with activities involving student role plays and problem solving, which engage them in communication as they work in groups and pairs. As teachers try to incorporate communicative strategies throughout their work, they often find it necessary to suppress the use of their students' native language, whether in planning classroom lessons or carrying out classroom activities, even when the native language is shared among the teachers and the students.

In their emphasis on language learning for purposes of communication, the activities, materials, and strategies of communicative methodol-

ogy have come to constitute a rich and enriching curriculum that has assisted many students. Research has shown that they have been more effective than grammar translation, audiolingualism, or other more traditional methods in promoting students' confidence and their fluency in speech and writing, and in accelerating the early stages of their language development. (See, for example, Lightbown and Spada 1993 for review).

These activities, materials, and strategies, however, have not been sufficient to bring learners to the levels of proficiency that many now require for effective English language use. This realization has thus challenged the assumption behind communicative methodology, that a language can be acquired not only FOR purposes of communication, but also THROUGH processes of communication. As recent research has shown, however, this assumption does not seem to apply to all aspects of language learning, particularly those involving complex grammar or sociolinguistic and pragmatic subtleties. This is especially apparent for English language learning and teaching because of its multiple goals, because of the wide range of social contexts in which English is used, and because of the high level of proficiency often required for students' success.

Thus, we find in English teaching methodology the need for yet another transition. Fortunately, as educators, we can be guided by a growing number of research findings on four central processes that contribute to successful language learning. What these findings suggest is that communication is very critical to language learning, but it is not sufficient to meet the needs and goals of many learners.

Indeed, it now appears that some of important dimensions of the learning process might be better served by activities, materials, and instructional practices that integrate communicative methodology with traditional methodologies, and do so in creative, yet highly principled ways. These activities, materials, and instructional practices will be discussed below, first with respect to the research findings that underlie them, and then through a review of the application of these findings to an integrated methodology.

Language learning research: insights and implications

As we participate in yet another transition in language teaching methodology, we can do so, with knowledge of several characteristics of successful second language learning: First, second language learners must have access to second language input that is meaningful and comprehensible. (Krashen, 1985, 1994). When the input is not comprehensible, learners need to be allowed, and encouraged, to indicate their difficulty through clarification questions and expressions. Their interlocutors must respond by adjusting their input. (Long, 1985, Pica, Young, & Doughty, 1987).

As designed in theory, if not always realized in practice, communicative methodology, can create an environment in which such input can be made available. (See again Krahsen 1985, 1994). As will be discussed next, however, communicative methodology would appear to be less effective

with respect to three additional conditions for successful language learning. As a second condition for successful language learning, learners need to focus their attention on the language they are learning. To address this need, they must attend not only to the meaning and comprehensibility of input, but to the structures, sounds, and forms that shape the input. Thus, they must be able to notice the ways in which the sounds and structures of the language relate to the meanings of messages they encode, to understand these relationships of form and meaning in context, and to apply them appropriately in their speech and writing. (Long 1996, Schmidt 1990, 1992). Such opportunities are difficult to obtain through communicative input alone.

More specifically, learners need to know the ways in which concepts such as time, action and activity, space, number, and gender, are encoded in the second language, and how social norms are observed and maintained linguistically. They must also have access to those features of language that carry very little meaning. For English that means features such as articles and redundant endings, for example. (See again, Long 1995). Here, too, it would appear that communication would need to be supplemented and, in some cases, greatly enhanced, in order to assist learners to notice such features.

Third, learners need to produce spoken and written output, and to modify their speech or writing when it is not comprehensible, appropriate, or accurate. (Swain, 1985, 1993). To do this latter requires yet a fourth component: Students need feedback on their production, so that they can modify it toward greater comprehensibility, appropriateness, and accuracy. (Long 1996, Schmidt and Frota 1986). Otherwise, without an appropriate model, they may simply repeat themselves, make the same errors, or come up with new ones, and find that second language learning is even more frustrating and complex than they thought it could be.

Here, too, it would seem that communication alone would be insufficient, perhaps even detrimental, to the learner in the long run. While there could easily be a basis for feedback during communicative interaction, when learners' imprecisions interfered with message meaning, imprecisions in their grammatical form could be overlooked if communication were comprehensible. Thus, there would be no need for learners to modify their production toward greater grammaticality, nor to incorporate new grammatical features toward their language development. For certain features of grammar, some learners might be led to maintain a level of proficiency, characterized by fluency, but not accuracy. (See Higgs and Clifford 1982 for further elaboration of this concern).

In sum, these are four of the key experiences that have been identified for successful second language learning: Learners must be given input that is made meaningful and comprehensible. They must pay attention to the form of the input as well as its meaning. They must produce the second language, and be given feedback in order to modify their production to-

ward greater comprehensibility, appropriateness, and accuracy.

These dimensions of second language learning are important from a theoretical and empirical point of view. As will be elaborated throughout the sections that follow, they motivate and inform the current transition in language teaching methodology.

Transition and integration in English teaching methodology

As noted above, there are many communicative activities, materials, and instructional strategies that strive to bring learners opportunities to experience these four dimensions of successful language learning. However, communication, by nature, cannot address learners' needs completely, because it is focused primarily on the meaning of messages, rather than on the form that messages take. To draw learners' attention to the forms of messages that encode their meaning, and to do so with certainty, has thus become one of the foremost challenges to English teaching methodology. The urgency of this challenge has led the field into this time of transition.

This is where teaching strategies, activities, and materials drawn from traditional methods, when integrated into a communicative curriculum, can play a vital role in language learning. Those that seem especially relevant to learners' needs and goals for English language learning at this time are noted briefly below, and then discussed in the sections to follow.

The major teaching strategies to be described are direct instruction and correction, as they can be implemented to help learners acquire features in a second language that are difficult to access from simply listening to, or reading, its messages and texts, and from emphasizing message meaning without attention to message form. Among the features to be discussed, therefore, are rules of grammar and culture that bear such close resemblance to rules in students' native language that they fail to notice them in communicative input, or to rely on them to comprehend such input. Approaching these features through strategies more direct than communication is important because, when accuracy of these features makes little difference in their communication of message meaning, it is unlikely that students can obtain feedback from their listeners to guide them toward grammatical or sociolinguistic precision.

Also to be discussed below are several types of activities through which these teaching strategies can be implemented in the classroom. These include grammar decision-making, information exchange, dictogloss, and dictocomp tasks, which bear some resemblance to traditional activities such as grammar exercises, dictation, and recitation. What makes these three activities transitional, and therefore, distinct from their latter counterparts, however, is that they are designed to focus learners' attention on grammatical features and forms in relation to meaning, and in so doing, they also appear to guide students along the path of grammar learning.

Activities such as these, however, even when carried out among students as they work in small groups or pairs, cannot be accomplished with-

out the careful planning, input, and orchestration of teachers who are thoroughly involved in their students' language learning. To be discussed below, therefore is the transition in perception of the teacher's contribution to students' learning. This can be seen in a renewed respect for the central role of the teacher in designing and implementing activities, materials, and strategies for the language classroom. Also discussed, will be the renewed interest in the ways in which teachers can work to restore the importance of the student's native language, in planning classroom lessons, carrying out classroom activities, and facilitating language learning.

What is seen during this time of transition is not a shifting back and forth between communicative and traditional methodologies, but rather an integration of these two approaches. The following sections will therefore discuss this integration in more detail, beginning with principles and practices for the integration of communication, instruction, and correction, followed by those aimed toward the integration of teachers and their students as a resource toward students' success in language learning.

Integration of instruction, correction, and communication

Instruction, correction, and communication each plays a role in second language learning. Far more powerful an impact, however, can come through their integration in the classroom. For example, research has shown that grammar instruction and correction are particularly effective when they accompany opportunities for oral communication inside and outside the classroom. The grammar of those students who receive instruction and correction alone improves, of course, but not as much as those who engage in all three of these learning foci. (Montgomery & Eisenstein 1986, Spada 1987). In a foreign language environment, with few opportunities for ongoing English communication outside the classroom, it is even more important for teachers to maintain a balance among communication, instruction, and correction.

In prior years, when attention was given to instruction and correction, this was largely on the basis of textbook writers' ideas of how this should be done. This was actualized in a number of ways. Sometimes, for example, the ideas came from principles from linguistics, and other times from education. Here, the importance and degree of difficulty of a rule could be the determinant of its order of instruction and attention to correction. Sometimes the ideas came from particular methods, especially those that stressed rule practice and application. Sometimes they were effective in assisting grammar development, but many other times, they were not. Students and teachers became frustrated in their efforts.

Fortunately, research on language learning has uncovered a good deal about the scope and sequence of grammar learning, and the role of instruction and correction in this activity. Numerous researchers have contributed to this effort. Although both communication AND instruction with correction are vital to language learning, we can now identify fairly confi-

dently which dimensions of a second language can be learned through an emphasis on communication and which respond better to an emphasis on instruction and correction. This is expressed in the following guidelines, which themselves are based on reviews by Harley (1993), Lightbown and Spada (1993), Pica (1994).

Guidelines for grammar instruction and correction: target features

Current guidelines for grammar instruction and correction indicate that learners need instruction and correction for features in a second language with any or all of the following characteristics: 1. They closely resemble features in the learner's native language. 2. They are (nearly or totally) imperceptible to the learner. 3. They occur infrequently in the input available to the learner. 4. They have complex morphosyntax.

What these features have in common is that they are difficult for learners to notice in the input available to them. As a result, learners find additional difficulty in making comparisons between such features as they occur in input with their own versions of such features as they produce them. This difficulty in noticing and comparing can, in turn, impede their second language development unless given feedback, with opportunities to respond through modified production.

These are the very features, therefore, which can make second language learning through communication such a challenging task, and call for an approach through which communication can be integrated with instruction and correction. Examples of such features and the difficulties they pose for learners are provided below. Suggestions for integrative activities are provided in a later section. The discussion begins with reference to difficulties of particular relevance to Chinese speakers learning English.

Chinese-English resemblance: Word order

Chinese and English are quite distant from each other in their grammatical systems. Nevertheless, researchers have identified a number of areas that are of individual and collective relevance here. (See, for example, Swan and Smith 1987, Wu 1995). One area is English word order, which is like Chinese word order of subject-verb-object (SVO) for its statements, but not for its questions, where inversion is applied to sentence subject and finite verb. Thus, in English, She is coming to Taiwan becomes Is she coming to Taiwan?

Question word order in English grammar may be even more challenging for Chinese speakers because English questions follow SVO order in certain contexts, but not in all of them. One context that can arise frequently during communication with learners reflects the listener's need for clarification or confirmation of the learner's utterance. Such a need is often encoded through what are known as echoic questions, such as She's going to Taiwan? or She's going where?. Learners are exposed to such SVO ques-

tions all the time when they are engaged in communicative interaction in which message clarity and comprehensibility are vital to its transmission. Hearing such question types draws their attention further to SVO sentence structure in English, but provides them with limited access to inversion structures for English questions.

Learners need to be able to distinguish SVO and inverted question forms and their form-meaning relationships in input available to them, and to use question forms appropriately in their production. Yet the complexity of English question forms and their frequent encoding through SVO word order, suggest that learning to form English questions may require more than communication alone. Since SVO is what learners WOULD use in Chinese, and what they COULD use in English, they might not be able to advance beyond such communicative, pragmatic use of English unless the differences between Chinese and English in their speech and writing were pointed out to them.

Imperceptibility: Verb endings

Another challenge in grammar learning can be found in English verb endings. Here, Chinese native speakers, not unlike other English language learners, are confronted with imperceptibility as well as a diminution in communicative value when English verbs appear in redundant contexts. Most verb endings in English are reduced, unstressed, and/or elided. Many are voiceless and therefore difficult to hear in spoken English. They often go unnoticed in either spoken or written input, because they are not necessary for comprehension. As such, they are redundant with other linguistic or situational aspects of context, and require greater highlighting for the learner, the kinds of highlighting that instruction and correction can provide.

An illustrative example can be found in English consonant clusters (-ks, -kt). These are particularly sensitive to Chinese influence when they are in the final position of English words and syllables because Chinese has no consonant clusters in the final position of syllables. As a result, learners might learn to say lai or like instead of likes and liked, unless instructed or assisted to do otherwise. (See Pica 1994 and Sato, 1984 for further details).

Even structures that have clear relationships of form and function can be difficult for learners to recognize on their own because they appear at the ends of words, often in reduced or voiceless forms. Among these are plural -s and progressive -ing. Such features can be learned far more quickly if the learners' attention is drawn to them through instruction. (Pica 1985).

Guidelines for grammar instruction and correction: implementation

So far, this discussion of guidelines has addressed their application to the identification of target features on which to focus instruction and cor-

rection. Further needed, of course are guidelines for implementing such instruction and correction. Again research has shed light on this topic. And again, research has shown consistently that the most effective instruction is that in which meaningful communication is emphasized as well. (Brock, Crookes, Day, & Long, 1986, Day and Shapson 1991, Harley 1989, Lightbown & Spada 1990, Lightbown, Spada & Ranta 1991, White 1990, 1991). Recent research has provided a basis for the following guidelines regarding the implementation of grammar and correction in the classroom.

1. Effective activities for grammar learning focus learners' attention on second language form in relation to message meaning

In the case of verb tenses, for example, it is important that they be pointed out to learners as often as possible, whenever they appear in texts or spoken discourse, for example. Texts can be specially created to highlight the use of these forms in context. As such, the texts might center around stories, histories, world events. Indeed any text would be helpful if it provided at least one category of verb contrast. Even better would be an activity that involved all modalities, from reading the text, and/or listening to the text, taking notes on it, and reporting it back to other class members. (See, for example, Genesee 1994).

2. Effective activities for grammar learning focus learners' attention on one error at a time

Research has shown that teachers' reduced repetitions of students' errors, with emphasis on the error itself, were more highly associated with learners' correct responses than were expansions or elaborations of learners' utterances or isolated suppliance of a correct form. (Chaudron 1977). Thus, simple, short feedback that highlights one error at a time appears to be more effective than a complete overhaul of the learner's message. This should not imply that teachers imitate students' production, save for correction of only one error. Rather, it suggests that teachers continue to use target varieties of the second language, but draw attention to only one feature at a time, for example, verb tense contrasts. Thus the teacher can first offer a completely accurate version of the students' entire message, then segment one particular word or phrase, and draw the learner's attention to that.

3. Effective activities for grammar learning are provided when learners are ready to learn

One of the earliest claims to emerge from second language research was that learners' errors reflected their hypotheses about the language they were learning. This is a claim that continues to be held widely to date. Thus, instruction or correction cannot alter the path of language learning.

However research has shown that instruction and correction can accelerate the learners' movement and progress along the path, if provided at a time that is developmentally appropriate.

When helping students to form English sentences, therefore, what must be kept in mind is that sentence construction is acquired in an order of increasing complexity, with simple statements before questions, and copular yes-no questions before lexical yes-no questions before wh-questions. This was found in research such as that of Pienemann (1984; see also Lightbown and Spada 1993). If this is not the order of instruction in student textbooks, therefore, the students cannot expect be expected to be ready to internalize sentence grammar with strict accuracy. (Ellis 1989, Meisel, Clahsen, and Pienemann 1981). The best that teachers can hope for is that the students have been alerted to the more complex structures so that they can begin to *recognize* them. However, the students cannot be expected to use these complex structures correctly until they have gained at least some control over the simpler ones.

4. Effective activities for grammar learning let learners know they are being corrected

This is not always possible in the height of a communicative activity, but hearing a corrected version immediately following what learners have just said helps them "notice the gap" between their production and the correct second language version. (Doughty & Varella in press, Schmidt 1990, 1992, Schmidt & Frota 1986).

In one of these studies, for example, it was found that students whose teacher provided immediate corrective feedback on one particular error (substitution of have for be) during communicative activities, were able to overcome the error and sustain correct production well beyond their period of instruction. However, those students who were corrected during audiolingual drill and practice activities were able to self-correct, but could not sustain such correction beyond the classroom. (Lightbown 1991).

5. Effective activities for grammar learning integrate instruction with correction

An innovative practice that incorporates traditional methods with newer views of second language learning that focus on attention and awareness of language structures is the "garden path" technique. In studies on foreign language classrooms, it has been shown that learners who participated in the "garden path" technique of sequencing instruction on grammar rules then exceptions were more successful at learning the rules than those who were taught rules and exceptions at the same time.

Thus, in one study on the "garden path" technique, learners were first taught only regular forms of verb structures. Then they practiced on exercises for both regular and irregular structures. This activity led them to produce typical errors of overgeneralization as they applied the rule for

regular verbs to irregular verbs. The teacher then gave immediate feedback on their errors and instruction on the exception. This feedback called the students' attention to the difference between regular and irregular verbs in ways that instruction alone had been less effective in doing. As a result, students were able to make more rapid progress in their verb learning. (See Tomasello and Herron 1988, 1989 for further details).

6. Effective activities for grammar learning can sustain the effects of instruction and correction through target feature models and metalinguistic information

Traditional strategies such as modeling, imitation, and practice are also useful for second language learning and use. This is because we know that learners are able to communicate within the current developmental state of their own grammar. This gives them an opportunity to avoid words and grammatical structures not yet under their control. When asked to imitate a model, however, they have to reconstruct the grammar & meaning of what they hear and attempt production of new structures not quite within their current capacity. (Eisenstein, Bailey, & Madden 1983).

A similar finding has held for Chinese language learning by native English speakers. In a recent investigation, students who were studying measure words were given one of several different correction strategies whenever they made a mistake. These included suppliance of models, provision of metalinguistic information and rules, comments, and explicit rejection. The only significant effects on production were shown for models and metalinguistic information. Simply informing students when they were wrong, or leaving the error unattended, to develop into a target feature on its own, was shown to be far less effective than these more instructional techniques. (See Chen 1996 for more details, and Lightbown and Spada 1993 for review).

What research has suggested is that even when there is a need to isolate a particular structure for attention, it is also important not simply to teach rules and drill sentences, but to present the second language structure in context and discuss it with students, using their native language, if possible and necessary, to do so. This is so that learners can take advantage of their metalinguistic capacity and their ability to think about language and to understand its intricacies.

7. Instruction and correction can be effective in guiding learners to acquire sociolinguistic rules

The above guidelines for instruction and correction apply to other structures that have multiple form-function relationships. Of particular importance are those that depend on context and interlocutor roles and relationships for their accuracy and appropriateness. Among these are sociolinguistic rules, formulas, and routines.

Research has revealed several strategies that build on learners' cogni-

tive skills for acquiring sociolinguistic rules in a second language. These include telling them what to say and why to say so, letting them practice in dialogues created by native speakers, and providing them opportunities to compare their own production with that of speakers of the second language. These are but a few of the ways in which learners can become aware of these difficult, but crucial features of English.

Recent studies have shown that instruction on social rules and formulas makes a difference in the rate and extent to which they are learned. (Billmyer 1990, Lyster 1994, Olshtain & Cohen 1990, Swain and Lapkin 1989). Also important to their growth is the opportunity to learn cultural information, which may be difficult to obtain in classroom input. It seems likely that role plays are helpful for communication, but they are not sufficient for learners to gain access to the norms of the native speakers. They develop their own interpretation of these rules if left to their own devices. Practice through dialogues that have been specially created for them may very well hold the key to this extremely challenging dimension of language learning, particularly in foreign language contexts.

Many teachers who are not native speakers of the language they are teaching are reluctant to teach sociolinguistic dimensions of the second language. The strategies noted throughout this section, with their emphasis on the cognitive dimensions of learning might allay some of such teachers' fears. Since sociolinguistic rules are generally so complex and difficult that a good deal of explanation and example is important for their learning, teachers need not feel that they must be native like in their use of sociolinguistic rules in order to be a resource for their students in this area. In addition, these more cognitive activities may be particularly attractive, as growing numbers of learners reject games and even discussion as too easy and easy-going (See Futaba 1994).

Many of these strategies have as much to do with second language learning as they do with communication. For example, learners need additional help with questions, especially confirmation checks and clarification requests. Such strategic moves as Did you say X? or Could you say that again? are effective ways of helping learners to have messages repeated and adjusted for comprehensibility. Research has shown that these useful strategies can be taught to students quite effectively, even when the instruction is provided by non-native speaker teachers. (See, for example, Dornyei 1995). The challenge to the teacher is centered both on the teaching and learning of the strategies as well as on creating a classroom environment where such strategies are welcome.

As the need for direct instruction and correction continues to grow, along with evidence that both are effective when used in a principled way, we see a transition in the conceptualization of relationships in participation between teachers and students and among students themselves in the classroom. As will be discussed in the next section, one consistent finding is that again, a principled integration of these different participation structures is critical for success in English learning.

Integration of classroom participation structures

Most teachers would agree that there is a need for communication that balances teacher-led instruction with group work and learner-to-learner, or peer, interaction. This observation has become even more important in the transition in language teaching methodology. Research has been especially revealing in this regard. Strengths and weaknesses have been identified in both group work and teacher-led instruction. These are identified next.

1. Communication with peers promotes authentic, purposeful second language use

Research has revealed that peer and group work enable students to use language more communicatively and across a broader range of functions than do lessons characterized by lock-step, teacher-led classroom interaction (Long et al. 1976). Learners are particularly helpful in using a technique known as scaffolding, in which, when working in pairs, one tends to complete each other's utterances when the other is struggling to find a word or expression to communicate a message. (Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos, and Linnell 1995, 1996), as well as in supporting each other's answers even during teacher-fronted lessons. (See Tseng 1992).

2. Peer communication activities are effective in the short term

Research has shown that when working in pairs on a communication task, learners rarely incorporate each other's errors into their own production. Far more prevalent are learners' self-corrections and modification of their own utterances into more complex forms (Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos, and Linnell 1996), their self-generated adjustments toward more correct production (Bruton & Samuda, 1980) and their incorporation of each others' *correct* productions (Gass & Varonis 1990). Thus, in the immediate term, peer and group work do not handicap correct production, indeed they can greatly assist it. However, when looking at long range goals for learners, peer and group activities appear to be less effective in that regard, particularly for mastery of grammar and pronunciation. This will be discussed below.

3. Peer communication activities are not sufficient for meeting learner goals toward second language mastery

In the long run, it has been found that students who engage in extensive student-to-student interaction, without the benefit of much direct interaction with their teacher, develop fluent, but non-target like production, this is largely because the input they receive from peer learners reinforces their own errors and misanalyses of the target language. (Lightbown & Spada 1990, Plann 1977, White 1990, Wong Fillmore 1992).

Further, not all students working with peers have been found to take advantage of the opportunity to speak. In fact, they are often prevented from doing so by more assertive group members (Pica and Doughty 1985). In addition, group work has been found to assist certain language skills more than others. Listening comprehension, in particular, appears to be greatly facilitated in that regard (See Bejarano 1987 for further details). Such findings suggest that other approaches are required to insure language proficiency.

There are several classroom tasks that are particularly effective in guiding grammar learning through peer and teacher integration. Most are reminiscent of traditional activities such as grammar exercises, dictation, and recitation, and thus integrate traditional concerns for grammar instruction with the communicative technique of group work. Among them are tasks in grammar decision making and information exchange, and the dictogloss and dictocomp tasks, to be described next.

Integration of tradition and transition through grammar focused tasks

Grammar decision making tasks

In grammar decision making activities, actual grammar exercises can be given to students to work out together and report to their classmates. Here, students are asked to complete fill in the blanks or multiple choice exercises, selecting among verb tense or aspectual features, for example, explaining choices to their teacher, to each other, and to their classmates. Research has shown that such tasks are very simple to locate, adapt, or devise, and yet can have powerful impact on students' grammar learning over time (See Fotos and Ellis 1991).

Information exchange tasks

Known popularly as jig-saw tasks, these communication activities are characterized by a format that adheres to the following two conditions: Each student is given a portion of the information needed to carry out the task, and is required to exchange this information with the other students in order to complete the task successfully. (See Doughty and Pica 1986 and Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun 1992 for review of these and other tasks which belong to different task types). Such tasks thus provide a potential context for learners to focus their attention on the form and meaning of the messages, as message providers and as message comprehenders. There are two main types of these information exchange tasks that seem to work well. One task involves communication through visual description, the other involves communication through story telling.

In a description task, learners are asked to draw or describe pictures or other visuals, and describe them to peers who themselves must draw them on the basis of the learners' verbal description. Maps, diagrams, charts, nearly any visual can be used. Learners who are reluctant to draw can be

asked to assemble or even locate the visual being described.

In a picture story task, learners must compose a single story by exchanging information on their own individually held pictures of the story, the full sequence of which is kept hidden from their view until the end of the task. After they have assembled the pictures in a way that they believe reflects the story, they are allowed to see the hidden sequence of pictures, and judge their success.

One story that has been used successfully in both research and classroom contexts, consists of pictures depicting a woman who was getting ready to begin cooking at her gas stove. She had turned on the gas and was about to light a match to ignite the gas, when she was interrupted by a surprise visitor. She then proceeded to answer her door and sat down to a conversation with an unexpected guest. However, in so doing, she forgot to turn off the stove. When the guest lit a cigarette, this was followed by a small explosion in the woman's home. This story lends itself to contrasts in time and activity as well as foregrounding and backgrounding of information. It is thus excellent for drawing learners' attention to verb forms as they try to work out the story together.

Each of these types of information exchange tasks, with their different grammatical emphases enables students to produce a broad range of input, feedback, and output modifications during their exchange of information. The visual description task engages learners in describing attributes, states and conditions in their pictures. Such description guides them to focus on the names and features of objects, individuals, and contexts. The story telling task, on the other hand, with its emphasis on a sequence of events, leads them to focus on verb inflections for actions and experiences, with reference to time sequences and foreground-background relationships among the story events.

Dictogloss and dictocomp tasks

The dictogloss and dictocomp resemble traditional lecture/text reading, presentation and dictation exercises, but build on them in the following ways: First, the teacher provides a lecture or brief passage that has been adapted to emphasize a particular structure or structure contrast, say verb tenses, noun number or sentence vs. question construction. This structure can be pointed out to the students before they undertake the task. During the dictation or text reading, students take notes on an individual basis, then work in teams, using their notes to reconstruct the text for a follow up presentation in oral or written form. (See Nunan 1989, Swain 1995, Swain 1993, and Wajnryb 1994 for further discussion). Research on students as they work through dictogloss and dictocomp tasks has revealed that they discuss grammatical features as well as rules for accuracy. This is especially so when after the reconstruction, the groups get together to compare versions with each other and with the original version given them by

their teacher.

The dictogloss and dictocomp are of particular interest in bringing together the traditional and transitional dimensions of language teaching methodology. This is because they strike a balance between the more traditional teacher-led instruction and the sorts of group work that have been promoted in communicative approaches. As concerns for achieving a balance between teacher led instruction and peer work, continue to mount in language teaching methodology, there is also renewed interest in the contributions teachers can make toward using students' native language to guide their learning. This will be addressed in the following section.

Integration of second language and native languages as learning resources

Research has shown that teachers can work to restore the importance of the student's native language, in planning classroom lessons, carrying out classroom activities, and facilitating language learning. These are based largely on the work of Polio and Duff (1994) and Sticchi-Damiani (1983). It is important to note that the research does not suggest a return to translation as an all encompassing strategy for language teaching, but rather as a helpful dimension of learners' and teachers' communicative competence.

The main contributions are in the following areas, including **1. Management**: in order to explain rules and help students to understand their errors, to provide clear directions for assignments both in and out of the classroom. **2. Guidance**: in order to let students ask questions, again to achieve as much clarity as possible of both the second language as well as tasks and assignments. **3. Clarification:** to assist comprehension of word meaning and complex sociolinguistic rules. **4. Preparation:** to provide prereading context so that students can apply their knowledge and experience to an assignment. **5. Rapport building:** to develop and insure solidarity and rapport among students and between students and their teacher. **6. Anxiety reduction:** to avoid emotional interference with language learning.

It is important, of course, for learners to be able to blend such strategic use of the native language with strategic use of the second language. This latter must be applied to aid comprehension through use of contextual cues, reliance on prior learning, and asking clarification questions. The native language can serve as a bridge, and a very useful one at that. However, as students are aiming toward second language learning, and will eventually communicate with English language users who do not know their native language, it is critical for them to learn strategies for exploiting the second language in their language learning process.

Conclusion

Today, in English language teaching, tradition and transition are not proceeding separately, with each meeting some dimension of language

learning on its own. Instead, tradition and transition are becoming integrated into fresh and original approaches which can be very helpful to teachers and students. Of utmost importance to this integrated approach is that the classroom become an environment for learning through communication, for learning to communicate, and for learning to learn effectively and efficiently.

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Cultural Consciousness in a Language Class

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This paper explores how a pedagogic approach can contribute to language acquisition by being more than a mere vehicle for transmitting relevant linguistic material. It describes the effective use of Suggestopedia in a language class where the distinctive features of this approach are used to promote linguistic and cultural awareness of the target culture. By highlighting the significance of Suggestopedia, which is not a very popular approach, the paper also attempts to show how the effectiveness of an approach in language pedagogy is related to the various variables that constitute the context of the language class. Suggestopedia succeeded in the observed class as it addressed the needs of the students besides reflecting the cultural nuances of the target culture through its various distinctive features.

The primary objective of this paper is to present an analysis of a language class where the teaching method took into account the crucial and unavoidable link between language and culture. Culture, in this context, signifies a set of beliefs, customs, and social values that are shared by the individuals of the society in which the target language operates. Research in the field of cross-cultural variation in language use, and sociolinguistics has clearly demonstrated how language learning remains incomplete if divorced from its sociocultural setting. The significance of communicative competence was highlighted by Dell Hymes who observed that simply knowing the linguistic rules does not guarantee effective communication. It is important for a language learner not only to know how to form linguistically correct utterances but also to know when, where and how to respond.

However, in today's world of language pedagogy that is shaped to meet the specific needs of the learners in the most efficient manner, the relevance of mastering the sociolinguistic rules is determined by the needs of the learners. For instance, students learning a language for academic purposes, such as being able to read and write in research journals, would not be required to know the sociolinguistic rules. On the other hand, it becomes absolutely essential to master the sociolinguistic skills when the language

is learnt for communicative purposes and for survival within the target culture. This is because "language and culture are not independent or mutually exclusive..." Rather, culture is a wider system that completely includes language as a subsystem" (Casson 1981: 19). Language functions as an effective index which indicates the social norms of the target culture. Consequently, in language teaching "sociolinguistic competence has been identified as a key aspect of successful communication; background knowledge and shared assumptions have been shown to be a crucial element in understanding oral and written forms of discourse" (Kramsch 1989: 486).

This paper examines a language class where the inevitable link between language and culture was brought to the surface by the teaching methodology. In the observed class the methodology itself became an effective channel through which linguistic as well as sociocultural information was imparted in ways that were pertinent to the needs of the learners. This report focuses on this aspect by highlighting the explicit and implicit ways by which cultural awareness was being conveyed through the methodology.

The Observed Class

The class which I observed had adult learners who did not know their heritage language. Though there parents were from India, these students were American as they were born and raised in the US, a predominantly English speaking country. They had not found an opportunity to interact in their heritage language. Most of them had a passive knowledge of the target language, which was their heritage language, as they had heard some members of their family speak it. Their exposure to the target culture was minimal.

In this high intermediate level class, the proficiency level of the students in the different areas (oral, aural, reading and writing) varied. However, most of them could understand the language though some had difficulty in speaking and writing. All of them knew the script and were able to read the text with different degrees of proficiency. Most of them were not learning the language for academic purposes, nor did they need to focus on strategies of communication. Their main interest in the target language was governed by their desire to get a glimpse of the target culture of which they had little awareness.

Teaching Methodology

Over the past years a number of teaching methodologies have been formulated. Each is designed around a particular theory of language and adopted according to the needs of the learner. For instance, the Grammar Translation Method is used by those who feel that language is a "system of structurally related elements... [and the] target of the language learning is the acquisition of elements that are defined in terms of grammatical units"

(Richards and Rodgers 1982: 153). Another approach which has gained immense popularity in language classrooms in most parts of the world, is the Communicative Approach. This style of language teaching focuses on developing the communicative as well as the linguistic competence of the learners through interactive language lessons. The popularity of this approach can be traced to the growing realization of the significance of communicative competence. It would be futile for practitioners of any of these approaches to claim that any one method is the right method of language teaching. The appropriateness of any approach would be determined by its ability to meet the needs of the learners in the most effective manner. Hence for optimum language to occur in a classroom the teacher has to select, adapt and integrate the most appropriate aspects of any one or even different approaches. None of the approaches are inherently good or bad. The advantages and disadvantages of each becomes evident through its proper or improper application within a classroom. The paper will now discuss an approach that is rarely used, and will attempt to highlight how the mutual appropriacy of a context (that takes into account various features like the needs of the learners and their age) and a pedagogic approach together facilitate language learning.

In the observed class, the teacher drew extensively from an approach called Suggestopedia. This method of teaching was developed by Georgi Lozanov (1978), a Bulgarian psychiatrist educator. This approach "believes that relaxation techniques and concentration will help learners tap their subconscious resources and retain greater amounts of vocabulary and structures than they ever thought possible" (Omaggio 1986: 84).

Some of the major characteristics of this method are enumerated below:

a) stress on oral skills

b) use of situational dialogues

c) brief grammar explanations following language practice

d) comfortable sitting and soft music, usually of stringed instruments, to relate the mind

e) no mechanical drilling, rather encouraging role plays and providing the students an opportunity to absorb the text by concentrating on it.

Relevance of Suggestopedia

The practice of this method proved fruitful in this language class. This was because it allowed the incorporation of texts, such as plays, which were effective linguistic devices that conveyed the social norms and attitudes of the target language's culture. As already mentioned, the students were not learning the language for academic purposes. Hence, proficiency in syntax was a secondary goal. The brief and specific grammar explana-

tions that Suggestopedia allowed were enough to meet the students' needs. What was most fascinating was the manner in which, the other characteristics of Suggestopedia (besides a play which they used as their text) in a very subtle way, brought to life the target language's cultural ethos in the classroom. In this Hindi (the national language of India) class, Suggestopedia had a special significance because it employs certain activities that have a direct link with the Indian culture. Consequently, what appears mystical about this method in the western culture becomes quite explicable in an Indian context. In this class the method of instruction itself became an implicit means by which certain concepts of the student's heritage culture were introduced in an unobtrusive way.

Suggestopedia encourages the learners to engage in controlled breathing exercises that are meant to regulate the concentration level of the learners. This aspect of Suggestopedia is related to the yogic exercises that were originally performed by the Indian Yogis. It is from "raja-yoga [that] Lozanov has borrowed and modified techniques for alerting states of consciousness and concentration and use of rhythmic breathing " (Richards and Rodgers 1986: 142). This interesting feature about this approach was not pointed out by the teacher in the observed classes. However, it could have been mentioned in the earlier classes. Such a discussion on the relation between the pedagogic approach and the target language's culture can enable students to appreciate Suggestopedia as a meaningful channel for not only linguistic learning but also cultural insight.

One of the distinct characteristics of Suggestopedia is the 'concert' phase. The purpose of this phase is to create a peaceful ambiance within the classroom that can enable learners to relax their minds and concentrate. The lilting strains of the stringed instruments playing the Baroque melodies is an integral part of Suggestopedia, as it supposedly facilitates optimum learning. In the observed class, the teacher replaced Baroque music by Indian classical music. He switched on a cassette of a stringed Indian musical instrument. The mellow music that wafted into the room served a dual purpose. Firstly, it became a part of the pedagogic approach and was intended to make the students relax in a pleasant atmosphere and hear the target language with full concentration. Secondly and more interestingly, it also served to familiarize the students with the target culture in a non-pedagogical manner. The role of music in this class was more than a mechanical adoption of a particular feature of an approach. It offered the students an opportunity to listen, identify and appreciate their target culture's musical heritage in a foreign land. This in itself, was felt to be an enriching experience for these students who were learning the language for a better and holistic understanding of their target culture. The classroom thus provided them with an opportunity to get acquainted as well as cultivate their taste in the target culture's vast and rich musical heritage.

When the teacher initiated the "concert phase", he repeatedly asked his students to relax. He told them that they should forget all their worries

and put their faith in him. He stressed the fact that they were no longer in a competitive atmosphere. The cultural relevance of this last advice was significant. It would appear pertinent to many of those who are new to the US and find the competitive atmosphere in the academic institutions here extremely culturally specific. At least in this class the teacher, however unintentionally, created an academic atmosphere that largely resembled the one which prevails in the target country. However, the teacher, himself being a part of the American culture "that is characterized by competitiveness...and encourages individual accomplishment" (Cantoni-Harvey 1987: 6) was perhaps unable to identify the culturally relevant impact of his remarks and make the students conscious of it.

The Classroom

It was a small class and was held in the teacher's office in a very relaxed and informal atmosphere. The seating arrangement as well as the unobtrusive role of the teacher contributed to the comfortable environment. It was not a teacher fronted class for the students along with their teacher sat comfortably in a circle on the floor. This kind of seating arrangement was not only suited for this class which read a play, but was also a reflection of the classical classroom settings in the target culture and can still be found in certain traditional academic institutions in the target country (for instance in Vishva Bharati at Shantiniketan, which was founded by the Nobel award winner for literature, Rabindranath Tagore). Such an arrangement, that is reminiscent of the target language's ancient educational tradition lent a specific cultural aura to the modern classroom. This probably remained imperceptible to most as they had limited exposure to the target culture.

The teacher sat in front of a card which on translation read "Prof. Chatterbox", a role which he played only when asked to clarify certain doubts or when in charge of a game. He successfully juggled the roles of a "consultant, diagnostician, guide and model for learning" (Richards and Rodgers 1982: 160). It was interesting to note that though the teacher was not a native speaker of the language, he tried to represent the culture as much as possible through his dress (he wore an Indian Khadi jacket) and manners.

It was indeed to the credit of the non-native teacher that he was able to equip his students with relevant cultural information in spite of his peculiar position. I regarded this as a clear indication of his love for the language which had encouraged him to know more about the target culture. Moreover, as he and the students shared the same sociocultural assumptions, he was in a better position than a native speaker to anticipate the notions which would need clarification. Realizing that his students were not familiar with their target country's rural lifestyle he showed them video clippings of the rural areas and showed them the kind of houses they would

have to stay in and the manner in which they would have to conduct themselves if they ever went to a similar place.

Syllabus

The students read a play in class that was set in the target country. Each student was given a part and the roles were switched after approximately ten minutes. This switching of roles enabled the students to practice the different intonation patterns associated with the different characters. This had relevance because the intonation patterns varied as they were determined by the roles the characters had within the family and society.

In the play one of the characters, a young Indian woman who was born and raised in the US, was visiting India for the first time. The play highlighted certain sociocultural notions of the target culture which appeared peculiar to her. The play was a good choice as the students very easily identified with this character and through her eyes were able to get a glimpse of the Indian culture. Like her, they too were provided with explanations and justifications for many of the social practices. It also provoked interesting conversation as the play addressed the very ideas that these students wanted to talk about. The topics that were discussed ranged from rural lifestyle to the concept of arranged marriages. However, most of it was unfortunately not in the target language.

From this text the students also learned other appropriate discourse strategies. For instance, they saw how request patterns varied with the different social roles of the requester and the obligor. The text of the play also brought to attention the need for an awareness of the different forms of politeness which exist in India.

Audio - Visual Mode

After the students and teacher had read and discussed the play, a video clipping of the discussed portion was shown. It lasted for 20 minutes and kept the students totally engrossed. By watching this film the learners got an opportunity to hear the correct intonation patterns and the native pronunciation. In a later class I found the students trying to imitate the manner in which the dialogues were delivered in the play. Moreover, the film became a successful vehicle that transported the sights, sounds and atmosphere of the Indian countryside into a foreign classroom.

The video began with a song which had simple lyrics that described the simplicity of rural life. Men and women worked in the fields where machines were a rare sight. It presented a society which was not yet completely industrialized. Through the film the students were also made sensitive to the manner in which the people of their heritage culture treat time. Unlike the fast pace of life that characterizes American society, the Indian lifestyle both in the cities and country side was shown to be more relaxed. Family members were seen spending a lot of time together, sitting and talking. The video showed how even in the middle of the day, the head of

the village could be found relaxing in his house smoking a *hookah* (pipe).

All these aspects, however trivial they might appear, were significant signals which imparted a cultural awareness to these students. For this class, the use of the audio-visual technique was indeed beneficial. It facilitated a kind of cultural awareness among the learners that was impossible for the teacher to precipitate otherwise through simple lectures.

Conclusion

Observation of such a class makes one realize the potential that is inherent in an appropriately utilized pedagogic approach for language teaching and learning. The manner in which the pedagogic approach was adapted to suit the needs of the learners in this class indicates the advantages of Suggestopedia. This approach worked in the observed class as it was integrated as part of the curriculum itself, both of which were mutually interrelated. It becomes crucial for the teacher to adopt an approach that has maximum relevance for the students. As was observed in the given class, the characteristics underlying a pedagogic approach can become effective tools in promoting the objectives of language learning. Suggestopedia was used in this class not only as a pedagogic tool to promote effective language acquisition but the approach itself contributed to the learning process.

Although Suggestopedia, which finds very few practitioners, worked as an appropriate approach in this class, it continues to have various limitations. For instance, this approach can perhaps work effectively only with adult students as young children would not be able to follow the teacher's instructions properly. Moreover, this method did not allow the students of this class to use language creatively for it should not be forgotten that after all it was a language class intended to impart cultural knowledge and not vice-versa. They were just memorizing set phrases which they encountered in the text they were studying. It is true they were learning a good amount of vocabulary but they hardly got an opportunity to utilize it. Suggestopedia seemed to prove effective in helping the students memorize vocabulary. It was not possible to learn if the students got an opportunity to communicate in the classroom using the learned vocabulary due to the limited number of class observations. Inclusion of simple communicative activities like role playing could also be included in this class for promoting communicative competence.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to highlight all the interactions that operated in this culturally conscious language class. The focus has been mainly on those aspects which served to heighten the sociocultural awareness of these students. In today's world that necessitates intercultural communication, it has become absolutely essential for everybody to be able to communicate holistically. For this reason sociocultural competence has become an integral part of linguistic competence and this was realized in this class.

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Language Policy: Status Planning for the Quechua Language in Peru

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Quechua is an indigenous language of Peru that is slowly dying out, as speakers of Quechua realize that the only way they can better their lives is to turn their backs on their mother tongue and learn to speak the Spanish of the dominant class. In this paper, I present a case study of the status of Quechua in Peruvian society. I discuss some of the specific social and political causes contributing to Quechua language loss, detail the current functional domains that Quechua serves, and suggest some possible measures that could be attempted to improve its status. I also explore the relationship of the functional domains to Peruvian language policies, both overt and covert, and conclude with some projections on the future of the Quechua language.

Language policy is a very wide field that covers a range of practices. Schiffman (1996: 3) defines it simply as "the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting [a] community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential." These positions and principles can be either overt and explicitly stated in a formal document or laws, or covert, not written down or formalized but reflected in popular attitudes nonetheless. Language planning, on the other hand, is a more formal procedure that falls within this broad area known as language policy. Language planning can be defined as a "deliberate intervention in language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes" (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971, cited in Cooper 1989: 30); additionally, as Tollefson (1981: 175) stresses, it deals with "planned change in the structure and status of language varieties."

Language planning itself can then be further divided; the two areas in which I am most interested are corpus planning and status planning. Essentially, corpus planning deals with the *form* of the language, for example, vocabulary and orthography. Status planning, on the other hand, is concerned with the *function*, or perhaps more accurately, the *functional domains* of a language or variety within a given society (cf., Fishman 1979: 12; Cobarrubias 1983: 42). Cobarrubias (1983: 42) indicates that in general,

changes in corpus have received more attention than changes in status, and argues that this situation needs to be addressed. The present paper will make one small contribution to this effort, specifically related to the case of Quechua in Peru. I will focus my attention on status planning by discussing the possibility of increasing the status for Peruvian Quechua. This will involve consideration of the current domains in which Quechua functions, implications for the survival of Quechua based on the relative status of each of those domains, and possible means of increasing the range of functional domains which Quechua can serve. In the process, I will, of course, take into consideration current Peruvian policy trends.

Literature Review and Background on Peru

The general consensus of most researchers is that the field of status planning deals with the relative status of one language to another, or between varieties of the same language in regard to the social domains in which each is used (Wiley 1996: 108-109; Cooper 1989: 32; Wardhaugh 1992: 347; Altehenger-Smith 1990: 29; Cobarrubias 1983; Fishman, 1979: 12). Altehenger–Smith (1990: 29) emphasizes that the various models of status planning do not focus so much on the actual process of decision–making as on its outcome, while Wardhaugh stresses its functional cast. He maintains that status planning affects not only what functions a languages serves, but also the rights of those who use it: "For example, when speakers of a minority language are suddenly denied the use of that language in educating their children, their language has lost status" (Wardhaugh 1992: 347), and the previous rights of those who speak that language have been restricted. In fact, Wardhaugh's words can be applied particularly well to the status of Quechua in Peru over the course of its history, as will become obvious in this paper.

It is important to understand exactly what the current state of affairs is in regards to language policy and planning in Peru. This country is multilingual, with Spanish as the dominant language as a result of the Spanish Conquest in the 16th century. According to a 1984 census, about 72.64% of the population speaks this language. Quechua is the second most widely spoken language, with 24.08% of the speakers in the country, followed by Aymara and a host of other languages spoken by various heterogeneous and widely–scattered groups in the Peruvian jungles, distributed among 3.29% of the speakers (Cerrón–Palomino 1989: 14).

Quechua was not the only language spoken Peru before the Conquest. Which language was widely spoken depended greatly on who was in power and the part of the country in which one found oneself. Cultural contact, of course, meant linguistic contact, which often also meant linguistic domination of one group over another:

> Over time, the expansion of one language at the expense of others varied in accordance with the expansions

> and recessions of the peoples. Consequently, the present linguistic map is a result of a series of displacements and superpositions of these languages... their interaction—actually that of the speakers—undoubtedly established the multilingual nature of the country. (Cerrón-Palomino 1989: 11)

It seems clear that when Cerrón-Palomino talks about the expansion and recession of languages, he is referring to the respective status of the languages as well as their distribution throughout the territory. In the time of the Incas, Quechua was widely spoken, and was, in fact, the main lingua franca. With the arrival of the Spaniards and their subsequent subjugation of the indigenous peoples, this situation rapidly started changing. The Spaniards insisted that their new subjects learn Spanish and give up their own language. It was not quite as easy, painless, or rapid as the Spaniards might have wished, and for a long time, Quechua was still a primary language of communication.

However, over the last 500 years or so, the Spaniards slowly managed to instill their own negative opinion of the Quechua language in the native speakers, thus achieving the lowering of that language's status to the point where many speakers are ashamed to use it (Cerrón–Palomino 1989: 27). Cerrón–Palomino discusses the issue of power dynamics in relation to the development of statuses. He indicates that we have to remember that it is the people who have power, and not the language itself. Also, it is important to understand *who* has the linguistic power in a given situation and how they manifest it in explicit and implicit policy. This detail has the greatest influence on determining which language has the higher status. Cerrón–Palomino gives Peru as a case in point of the effect on language status of the group in power:

> This is clearly shown by the Peruvian situation, since, due to the structure of the present society, ... the functional jurisdiction of the languages is unequally distributed and gives the edge to Spanish, to the disadvantage of ancestral languages and the cultures that the latter support; Peru is thus a typical diglossic society. (1989: 11)

Cerrón–Palomino is not the only one to emphasize the diglossic nature of Peruvian linguistic reality. Fishman (1967: 32) does not refer specifically to Peru when he discusses the restrictive effect of limited role repertoires on linguistic repertoires, but his words nonetheless have clear implications for the Peruvian situation. He maintains that the smaller the range of the role repertoires (functional domains) of a given linguistic repertoire (lan-

guage or variety), the less used that linguistic repertoire will be, "with the result that separate languages or varieties would be(come) superfluous." López Quiroz (1990), on the other hand, does refer specifically to Peru in his work. He emphasizes the hegemonic efforts of the Spaniards throughout the conquest, colonization and up to the present day. He stresses the difference between diglossia and bilingualism:

> Regarding the analysis of the category of diglossia, we may deduce that it is only possible to conceive of a society as bilingual when the functional distribution between the languages spoken in that society is relatively equitable and neither one nor the other suffers reduction or deterioration, but rather individuals tend to use both languages freely and creatively. (1990: 107; translation mine)

In other words, the situation is bilingual if the two languages have equal status; if one is in a superior position, the situation is diglossic. It is the insidious psychological influence of the ancient Spanish *conquistadores'* and present day *criollos*'[1] opinions of their superiority over the indigenous populations which has led to the disdain of the *criollos* and the shame of the Quechua people themselves with regard to the Quechua language.

López Quiroz (1990: 105) illustrates a very dramatic extreme of such linguistic shame, which he refers to as linguistic asphyxia. He asserts that some people would rather hide their status as native Quechua speakers, and let others think they are "mentally limited" (i.e., retarded) because they do not speak Spanish very well. This is due, he maintains, to "the strong social pressure that exists against indigenous languages used as a vernacular" (1990: 105; translation mine). Cerrón–Palomino (1989: 26) states quite emphatically that the death of many of the ancestral Peruvian languages was due to deliberate efforts by the hegemonic society: "The policies which brought about the linguicide paralleled the ethnocidal and genocidal policies of the governing groups. Many languages died out not only because the speakers turned to other languages, mainly Spanish, but also ... because of the considerable reduction, or sometimes total annihilation, of the respective populations."

Schiffman (1996: 4) emphasizes the effect that diglossia exercises on both

[1] It is important to understand that the term criollo refers specifically to that part of the population of more or less pure Spanish descent, but who were born in Latin America. This population thus has inherited the ancient pride of Spanish heritage. At the same time, they have a new and different world perspective because of having been raised in Latin America, which has completely distinct environmental and social influences from those of Spain. Thus, they still feel the necessity to hold themselves separate from the indigenous peoples, maintaining the social and racial "purity" (although in reality this is a fallacy, since there has been so much mixing through the centuries of all the races which are in Peru) which is what grants them their "superiority."

corpus and status planning. As a social construct which has evolved unconsciously over time, it becomes very entrenched ("persistent") in the mentality of the people, and thus very resistant to any kind of rapid change such as a government might attempt by simply passing a law. In reference to Peru, this becomes clear through knowing that it has taken centuries of contact and psychological pressure for the dominant sector of society to convince the subaltern one of its lower prestige. Therefore, the government will not be able to reverse this and convince all Quechua speakers to start speaking their language again by merely passing a law instituting bilingual education in the schools. There is no matching social reinforcement to prove to either Spanish or Quechua speakers that there is any social value in being able to speak Quechua. It took centuries to devalue the language; it may take centuries more to totally revalorize it.

Ferguson (1996: 29) makes a different point about the relative prestige of the two languages in a diglossic situation which also finds resonance in the Peruvian experience. He says that in general the H (high) variety, which in the case of Peru is Spanish, is considered by *all* speakers to be superior in some way to the L (low) variety, or Quechua and other indigenous languages. "Sometimes the feeling is so strong that H alone is regarded as real and L is reported 'not to exist'.... This attitude cannot be called a deliberate attempt to deceive the questioner, but seems almost a self-deception." While no one in Peru yet denies that Quechua exists, many native Quechua speakers who have learned Spanish will deny that they speak Quechua, despite quite obvious influences on their Spanish speech habits by Quechua — most notably in their lexicon and pronunciation. There are any number of reasons why these speakers might make this kind of denial: linguistic shame, desire for social mobility, simple continuous daily contact with Spanish and the need to be able to communicate, the perception that Spanish is the most appropriate language for education, the urbanization of the Quechua speaking peoples, and so on, ad infinitum. However, all of these ultimately can be reduced once again to the fact that Spanish has prestige and Quechua does not.

It is perhaps relevant to note here an interesting fact about the functioning of status planning. This is an activity which happens somewhat after the fact. In other words, it is compensatory or retroactive. In reading the discussions of all the various researchers, it becomes clear that different languages or varieties achieve their current status through a process mediated by what Schiffman (1996: 5) calls linguistic culture, or "the set of behaviours, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language." The unconscious (covert) nature of all the elements of his list is quite notable. For any actual planning to be able to take place, all of these various points which are already unconsciously present in the constitution of language status need to be brought to conscious awareness and talked about, in order to

plan to try to change them. This is what makes status *planning* a compensatory phenomenon.

Thinking in these terms necessarily involves the need to understand how beliefs and attitudes become established, and what can be done to bring about changes in attitudes. Ferguson (1996: 275) emphasizes that "discovering language attitudes is more difficult than finding the basic data," but that it is a very necessary part of establishing language policy. Such attitudes will obviously have serious implications for any effort to change the status of one language relative to another.

Schiffman (1990a, 1990b), Eastman (1990) and Spolsky (1978) also discuss the impact of language attitudes and power relations on language planning and policies in various regions of the world. Spolsky (1978: 44) specifically addresses the Latin American context thus: "While there are few data on the situation in Latin America, some studies suggest the maintenance of Indian vernaculars only as the languages of socially inferior and uneducated groups." Such a statement by this time is somewhat outdated in terms of the amount of research available, since the study of indigenous languages has become very *de rigeur* in recent years, but the truth still remains that in many cases, those who speak indigenous languages are often regarded as "socially inferior and uneducated."

The Guaraní language in Paraguay is an example that is at the same time both supportive of and contradictory to this generalization. While Spolky's reference to the functional domains of Guaraní may be true in the most general sense devoid of a social context ("The typical speaker of Guaraní is a poor, inconspicuous, cigar–smoking woman; of Spanish, an educated townsman" [1978: 44]), Rubin discusses the situation in much more detail. She indicates that Spolky's words may well be too simplistic. While a politically diglossic situation does exist, in which status *may* be revealed by language choice in situations where either language might be used, Rubin has found that in general, Guaraní is used for more intimate or informal situations and Spanish for more formal or official ones (for example, in government or administrative situations):

> Since Spanish has, throughout Paraguayan history, been used for administrative purposes, it is in such formal situations and in discussing related topics that Spanish ... is, in fact, used. Since Paraguay did not develop a sharply defined class system, usage in non-rural, non-formal situations falls back on the equalitarian [*sic*] criteria of intimacy and the seriousness of a situation.... Status does not seem to be a determining factor in linguistic behavior. (1972: 529)

One detail she does not discuss in her paper is the racial categories in-

volved. Is it equally likely for a person of primarily *criollo* descent to learn Guaraní as a first language in rural areas, as it is for someone of indigenous descent in those same rural areas? Rubin does not seem to consider race to be a factor in first language learned. However, this issue is very pertinent to the Peruvian case, which might otherwise be considered to be somewhat similar to Guaraní. The reason that the Quechua *language* is more commonly found in rural areas is specifically because that is where the Quechua *people* have been concentrated until recent decades. Thus, bilingualism in Peru is very much a class–based issue, with classes being formed principally along racial lines.

Case Study: Functional Domains of Quechua

Various researchers have treated the topic of functional domains in a language (cf. Appel and Muysken 1987; Prujiner 1986; Cobarrubias 1983). In examining the status of the Quechua language in Peru and exploring options for status planning, I feel it is very important to emphasize sociopolitical issues. Stewart's (1972) specification of language functions provides a framework that allows such a focus; therefore, I will follow his guidelines. Cooper (1989: 99-119) refers to Stewart's functions as *targets* of status planning, since such functions or domains of language use are very often affected by the status of the language or variety in the society under discussion. This being the case, the spread of a language into a new function would naturally be an appropriate objective of trying to improve or broaden the status of that language.

Stewart (1978: 540-41) lists ten functions that a language or variety may serve in a society. (1) The *official* function refers to the political or administrative domain, which is often specified constitutionally and is recognized nationwide. (2) The *provincial* function is applicable to the official language(s) of a province or region within the country. (3) The *wider communication* function involves a language variety that operates as a lingua franca across language frontiers within the country, but does not have any "official" capacity as described in (1) and (2) above. (4) The *international* function concerns varieties that may not have "official" status (indeed, the remainder of the categories are specifically excluded by Stewart from official or provincial standing), but may be used for communication across national boundaries. (5) The *capital* function refers to the primary language or variety used in or around the national capital. (6) The *group* function pertains to the main language of communication of a single cultural or ethnic group. (7) The *educational* function relates to the language used for primary and secondary (but specifically not university) education in all school subjects, either regionally or nationally. (8) The *school subject* function differs from the educational in that the language is taught only as a school subject, but is not necessarily used as the means of communication in teaching it; also, this function can exist in the higher education setting.

(9) The *literary* function refers to the language's use for either literary or scholarly pursuits; and (10) the *religious* function pertains to use of the language for the practice of a given religion.

Peruvian Quechua clearly does not serve all of these functions, although it does fulfill some of them. The current social status of Quechua in Peru has already been examined above. The remainder of the paper will discuss specifically which of the functional domains it does fill and how those domains impact its status. The paper will also detail possible ways of spreading its use to other domains and with what possible effect on its status.

Stewart's first function is that of *official* language. In the case of Peru, this is a situation which tends to fluctuate depending on the views of the government in power. In 1975, during Velasco Alvarado's presidency, Quechua was legally declared an official language of Peru, "coequal with Spanish, and ... taught at all levels of education beginning in 1976 and used in all court actions involving Quechua speakers beginning in 1977" (Hornberger 1995: 189). This was such big news that it even made the front page of the leading newspaper in Lima (*El Comercio*, May 26, 1975). Later, however, this law was retracted in the 1979 constitution. In this document, Spanish is designated as the only official language, with Quechua and Aymara having "official use zones" (Hornberger 1995: 189). Hence, from a legal perspective, Quechua has both been and not been an official national language in fairly recent history in Peru.

The category of "official use zones" could equate to another of Stewart's domains, that of *provincial* use, with official language status limited to certain legally specified regions of the country. Currently, the 1979 constitution is still in force, and so Quechua retains its legally recognized provincial status. Cerrón–Palomino (1989: 26) indicates that such a limitation of Quechua to specific regions or ethnic groups could be problematic, especially in large coastal cities which have experienced a huge in-migration of indigenous peoples from the highlands, looking for better opportunities. Such a regional limitation could lead to the suppression of an entire ethnolinguistic group's right to speak their native language, by the simple act of their moving from one place to another. Hence, he suggests that "a solution based on personal criteria would be preferable." In this case, such a solution might be more in line with Stewart's *group* function (number 6 in the list above), which doesn't necessarily distinguish by geographic region. For the moment, however, speaking Quechua remains mostly a regional issue. It is primarily spoken in the rural Andes, where you can still find monolingual Quechua communities. However, even in the highlands, metropolitan cities such as Cuzco are experiencing a shift towards Spanish monolingualism. And while Quechua may occasionally be heard in the large coastal cities such as Lima, those few occasions will only be in homes and small markets in areas fringing the city where the Quechua immigrants tend to congregate and settle. I can assert from personal experience that it is never heard in public places within the cities proper. This is because

most speakers of it are ashamed for monolingual Spanish speakers to know that they speak such a "backward" language, as discussed in the previous section.

Clearly, then, as the above shows, Quechua does not serve the *capital* function. This results in another negative impact on its status, since, as Cooper (1989: 106) emphasizes, when political power, social prestige, and economic activity are centered in the capital, this tends to cause the language spoken there to spread from there to the periphery. Spanish is dominant in the capital, and is slowly spreading outward to marginal territories. As a result, Quechua is disappearing from this domain. Alternatively, then, if there were any way to promote greater use of Quechua by *all* city-dwellers, and not just the rural immigrants, it might be possible to spread Quechua through this route also.

Having emphasized the legal stature of Quechua, it is now logical to point out the difference between legal recognition and actual, social use. Cerrón-Palomino (1989: 25) states that "it is well known that the [original effort] to promote Quechua failed before more than a few steps toward its implementation were taken." He also maintains that such "official" recognition of Quechua was little more than lip service, apparently offered in an attempt to gain the political support of the indigenous population (1989: 26). Hence, even when Quechua was an "official" language, that fact did not enhance its status or its level of usage among the general populace, and so in reality, it was little more than a useless gesture, made without much thought or planning as to means of implementation of the law. Additionally, whether Quechua is defined as having a *provincial* or a *group* function, both definitions still restrict its use and thus limit its potential status.

Wider communication, the third of Stewart's functions, is another interesting historical case in multilingual Peru. During colonial times, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Quechua was essentially a lingua franca between the Spaniards and the Quechua natives (Cooper 1989: 105). Over the centuries and with increasing contact between the original populations and the *criollos*, Spanish has been increasingly enforced socially as the dominant language, as discussed in the previous section. Quechua no longer functions as a lingua franca between speakers of Spanish and those of Quechua, and so one more valuable function of the language has been lost.

Despite this loss of a function previously held, Quechua has made an interesting gain on the *international* front. First of all, Quechua is spoken throughout South America, in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Certainly, its strongest influence is felt in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, the countries that formed the base of the Incan empire in pre-Columbian times. These countries still have large populations who have spoken it without interruption for more than 450 years; in the other countries, it is spoken only in very small, isolated communities which have very

little contact with the Spanish–dominated world (Cerrón–Palomino 1987: 53).

Secondly, and this is the more interesting occurrence, Quechua has achieved an international prestige that it certainly lacks at home in Peru. Indigenous languages in general have experienced an incredible upsurge of popularity as a topic of study by linguists, and Quechua is no exception. In conjunction with the increasing interest in studying it, a concurrent availability of Quechua as an academic subject in universities and institutes has developed worldwide, from the United States (13) to Britain (4) to Japan (1).[2] The Rheinische Friedrich–Wilhelms–Universität in Bonn, Germany recently held a conference commemorating sixty years of Quechua language instruction (Rheinische brochure, 1996), and the University of Hamburg also has a program. Additionally, there are numerous Quechua webpages on the internet. It is more likely that Quechua speakers, given the proper technology, could communicate with foreigners from around the globe than with the majority of their own countrymen. This is an intriguing — and in my opinion, shameful — paradox. However, since most native speakers of the language will never have such an opportunity, this interesting paradox does little to help enhance the status of Quechua for the speakers at home in Peru. On the other hand, perhaps if more Peruvians — both Spanish and Quechua speakers — were made aware of just how widely Quechua is becoming spoken around the world, that would be a possible tool to enhance its prestige in their eyes, and make more of them willing to learn it or to continue speaking it.

Of course, there are also some universities in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador that offer courses in Quechua as a second language, but one would expect to see that, since it is a native language of those countries. It is certainly more impressive to learn of the many international institutions which want to promote the Quechua language. In this case, Quechua is fulfilling the functions of both *international* language and *school subject* (at the secondary and college levels). Incidentally, in his discussion of the function of school language, Cooper (1989: 112) offers the opinion that this category should be broadened to include language instruction at the primary grade levels, as well as secondary and university, since second languages are routinely taught at primary schools in many countries. Despite bilingual education programs in Peru, Quechua is currently not one of these languages taught as a school subject in the primary grades, except in some few bilingual schools in the Andes sponsored by international non–governmental

[2] The American universities are: UCLA, UC-Santa Cruz, Stanford University, University of Texas-Austin, University of New Mexico, University of Pittsburgh, University of Maryland, Cornell University, Indiana University, University of Wisconsin, University of Illinois, and Georgetown University. In Great Britain, they are: University of Manchester, London School of Economics, University of Liverpool, and University of St. Andrew's. In Tokyo, Japan, it is the Academy of the Quechua Language. There are also other universities scattered across France, Holland and other countries which offer Quechua language courses.

organizations. It is certainly not a national phenomenon.

On the subject of the Peruvian bilingual education programs, *education* is another linguistic function which Stewart discusses. As mentioned above, this domain refers to content education in the language under discussion, not to teaching students how to speak that language. Bilingual education is yet another Peruvian issue with a colorful history. It has had sporadic support, once again depending on who is in power. The 1975 reform discussed above called for bilingual education in both Quechua and Spanish, and provided the governmental financial support to implement it. With the rewriting of the 1979 constitution, bilingual education was reduced to programs offered only in the official use zones, and financial support was withdrawn (Pozzi-Escot 1988: 56-59). As a result, such support had to come from private groups and researchers. Fortunately, there are various groups of linguists working on Quechua language maintenance and bilingual education, and through their efforts, regional programs have been established (cf., Hornberger 1995). According to López Quiroz, there are currently 18 different bilingual education projects ongoing in Peru, either through the efforts of non-governmental organizations, or through private organizations (Hornberger, personal communication, April 30, 1996).

The most notable of these bilingual education programs are the Experimental Quechua-Spanish Bilingual Education Program of Ayacucho, and the Experimental Bilingual Education Project of Puno (Hornberger 1995: 192). Unfortunately, in 1994, the bilingual education programs which had been organized and maintained once again at the federal level were terminated due to the government's changing priorities (R. Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, April 27, 1996). Bilingual education was no longer a government priority, and any such programs that were still in effect were not linked in any systematic way either to each other or to the government. It was only recently, in 1996, that the government reinstated a national bilingual education program, which it is still in the process of implementing (H. Rosales Alvarado, personal communication, September 2, 1996).[3] It remains to be seen whether this effort will turn out to have more thoughtful planning efforts devoted to it, and be implemented in such a way that not only Quechua speakers, but Spanish speakers as well will be required to study the language; and if so, whether this will have any effect on public perceptions of its status.

It would seem, then, that for the moment, the government recognizes the importance of offering education in a speaker's native language as well as the dominant language. However, there is often resistance to bilingual education from an unexpected source: the community itself. As Rubin (1972: 521) points out in her discussion of Guaraní in Paraguay, because of incredible pressure on both students and teachers to use Spanish in the

[3] This sudden about-face in policy is one more manifestation of how rapidly situations can change in Latin American politics.

schools, teachers try to insist on Spanish in the classroom, regardless of the rural or urban status of the school. Hornberger (1988: 174-182) emphasizes the community's role in enforcing this preference for Spanish in her study of several Quechua communities. She has found that although these communities still value Quechua for very specific home and community domains, the parents firmly believe that the only way their children will be able to improve their lots is to be able to speak Spanish, and to receive their education in Spanish. They recognize that the dominant society does not value their native language, and thus feel that it is pointless to be educated in a language that they know to be worthless for social advancement. This is a valid point, if only in relation to the present. What needs to happen is for researchers and linguists to find a way to convince them that unless they maintain their Quechua in as many domains as possible, it will never even have the opportunity to grow in strength and status. This quickly degenerates into a circular argument with the native speakers, and therein lies the difficulty of increasing the domains of a language and attempting to plan an improvement in its status.

Hence, even the educational function of Quechua is currently somewhat debatable. Between vacillating government support and the grass-roots opposition in some communities, it is hard to decide whether or not to assert that Quechua serves such a function, and even if it does, whether teaching it to everyone will improve its status. As Schiffman (personal communication, December 8, 1996) points out, the mere fact that a language receives an increase in legal status (e.g., by mandating bilingual education) does not automatically mean that its perceived status at the popular level will also increase.

A function about which there is little argument is the *literary* domain. There simply is not a strong Quechua literary tradition, due in part to the long oral history of the language. There are examples of oral Quechua tales and histories, translated and written in Spanish; but these stories are not printed in Quechua. Additionally, there is some limited production in Quechua in the present time. One example is William Hurtado Mendoza, a well-known Quechua poet, who has published several bilingual Quechua-Spanish collections of his poetry. Rufino Chuquimamani is another native Quechua speaker, who earned his master's degree in Andean linguistics and education and wrote his master's thesis entirely in Quechua. He has also compiled two volumes each of short stories and folk wisdom gathered from oral storytellers and local elders, all produced bilingually in Quechua and Spanish. The Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Institute of Peruvian Studies) and the Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas" (The "Bartolomé de las Casas" Center for Regional Andean Studies) are two well-known and highly respected publishing houses who promote publications in Quechua — although, of course, the vast majority of what they publish is actually in Spanish. However, such examples as these have clearly limited and specialized audiences, and

would probably not achieve wide dissemination. Perhaps the work produced in Quechua which is most likely to reach a wide audience is the Bible, which has been translated by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) into various Quechua dialects. The main objective of the SIL is to attempt to convert the native populations to the Christian faith.

Another group contributing to the literary function of Quechua is the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language. This is an organization founded specifically to establish and disseminate Quechua not just as a vernacular, but also as a literary and intellectual language. The founder, Faustino Espinoza Navarro, has contributed greatly to Quechua's use as a literary language, both by producing literature in Quechua, and by establishing the National Cuzco Prize for a Quechua Novel, Poem, Story and Drama (Hornberger 1995: 193).

These are all impressive achievements in themselves, but they are still only individual achievements. There is no coherent, recognizable, widely disseminated body of written literature in Quechua. This is due in part to the fact that Quechua has always been an oral language, and it has only been since the Conquest that any attempt has been made to reproduce it in writing. It is also significant that the population who is the target audience of such publications still has an alarmingly low literacy rate, in either Quechua or Spanish. Hornberger (1988: 231), for instance, cites statistics for the department of Puno: as of the 1981 census, 32% of the population over 15 years old was illiterate. Therefore, any written literature in their own language is inaccessible to a great majority of Quechua speakers. Native Spanish speakers can easily read the Spanish translation that accompanies many of the works, so again the Quechua is superfluous. Until such a major obstacle as this access to the printed word can be addressed, seeking to spread Quechua to a literary function in an effort to increase its status is not a very practical move.

Perhaps a more practical effort would be to restore to Quechua a function that it served previously and subsequently lost: the *religious* domain. As happened with the function of wider communication, it was necessary for the Spaniards to use Quechua for religious purposes during colonial times, simply because the indigenous people did not understand Spanish. Using Quechua was the only way the missionaries could hope to convert the Indians to Christianity (Cerrón–Palomino 1989: 20). However, as time passed and contact with Spanish increased, Quechua lost the majority of its applicability in this domain. Cerrón–Palomino (1989: 21) indicates that this was not necessarily a subtle process; many Spaniards felt that the policy of evangelizing in the indigenous languages was not in the crown's ultimate best interest, an opinion which helped to accelerate the shift to Spanish.

However, it is somewhat simplistic to say that Quechua today plays no role whatsoever in religion. The Andean Catholicism is often touted as a syncretism of Spanish Catholicism and Andean beliefs. As such, the

Quechua people's religious practices are a mixture of native and Christian beliefs. For example, on All Saints' Day, when the families go to the church for Mass, and then afterwards spread a feast in the church graveyard, to feed the deceased family members whom it is believed will return in spirit to spend that day with their families.[4] Also, as mentioned previously, the Summer Institute of Linguistics has published the Bible in various dialects of Quechua. This is a modern effort, not a colonial one, and those Bibles can currently be found in the communities, presumably still in use by those who can read. Finally, there are a few Catholic prayers in Quechua that are still uttered by some individuals.

Also important is the fact that some Quechua communities in the Andean highlands still follow many ancient rituals, even while professing the Catholic faith. These rituals are considered to be somehow separate from Catholicism, perhaps in some sense not "religion," and thus the Quechuas do not feel they are being contradictory in following both belief systems. These ancient rituals, often performed by *los curanderos*, or folk healers, are always conducted in Quechua (cf., Bastien 1978; Gow 1976).

In short, Quechua fulfills a religious function, but only in very limited territories. This being the case, it cannot really act to increase the status of the language, especially in light of the fact that such local religions by definition have lower status than the national Roman Catholic faith. So again there exists a situation in which the language fulfills the function under discussion to some degree, but not perhaps in a widespread enough area to consider that it does so for the Peruvian society as a whole. This seems to be the most common thread running through nearly all of these functions: almost but not quite good enough.

Conclusions

Cerrón-Palomino (1989: 28) states unequivocally that Quechua is headed for extinction, because of its marginal position in the culture: "As the dominating culture extends its influence further into the zones where these languages have taken refuge, their role will disappear and Spanish will be placed on the throne forever." Additionally, Cooper makes a very important point regarding one factor in the success or failure of status planning efforts:

> Status planning... is usually invoked when changes in the functional allocation of a community's language is seen as desirable. But elites and counterelites may be slow to alter the *status quo* precisely because they may share, with the community at large, the evaluations which they ultimately seek to change. ... Planners must change their own

[4] This has been an annual tradition for the author and his family in Peru for many years. His family continues this practice to the present day

> evaluations before they can change the public's. (1989: 120-121)

Cerrón–Palomino's (1989) assertion of the ultimate demise of Quechua is a very strong stand to take, but he has some compelling reasons for stating it. As I have illustrated throughout the paper, Quechua has gradually lost many of the prestigious domains it once had, and this has had a very negative impact on its status. It is no longer an official language, nor even a lingua franca, and far less is it recognized in the capital domain. It is only sporadically that it serves an educational function, although it does continue to be a school subject.

However, there are also reasons for hope, at least for the maintenance of Quechua within specific domains such as provincial or group, and the exotic type of international fame which it has gained. Hornberger (1988: 233-234) points out that while Quechua will never be the dominant language it once was, it is nevertheless still very much valued by the highland communities which continue to speak it. They value it for specific community domains, and feel that they are jealously protecting it from further intrusion by Spanish by not using it in other domains such as the educational one. Hornberger (1988: 234) also proposes that it may be only a matter of time before the Quechua communities come around to accepting bilingual Quechua–Spanish education in the schools.

As discussed previously, Quechua does already have status in some areas, such as the group and provincial domains. However, since these are areas that are easily hidden from the mainstream of society, they don't necessarily help to boost the overall status of the language in the eyes of the general population. One thing that would help greatly is for Quechua to become much more visible in society, for instance, with the publication of a national daily Quechua newspaper, or a weekly or monthly magazine. Such publications would probably not have a wide readership, given the literacy problems discussed above, and the fact that most native Spanish-speakers are monolinguals. However, the longer such a publication were visible, the more likely it would be for people to slowly begin to accept it as normal and permanent. Having become accustomed to seeing it regularly, they might begin to take more of an interest in knowing the language.

Obviously, such a plan has drawbacks. The greatest one is financial: to publish this way, without an appreciable readership, takes a large investment of capital and human resources that few companies would be either willing or able to afford. Also, the low literacy rates in Quechua would seriously limit any potential readership. Finally, it would have to be on the market for quite an extended period before a slow conversion could begin to take place. Perhaps a more practical way to start would be to produce one section of an already existing newspaper or magazine in Quechua consistently.

Another answer might be to start with a medium other than print. There are already a few radio stations that broadcast some programming in

Quechua, although it tends to be limited to very early morning or very late at night. Additionally, these are primarily religious programs, which again might narrow their appeal. A Quechua speaker who wants to hear music or news will not listen for very long to a program that offers neither of those things. But it would at least be a beginning from which to grow. Limited television programming in Quechua might also be an option, although considering the cost involved, one would have to find a very philanthropic television station to produce it.

All of these points can ultimately be condensed to reflect a single goal: the ability of both Quechua and Spanish speakers to expand the Quechua language into new domains to increase its status. Both groups need to develop a recognition and an appreciation for this language and the culture which has enriched Peruvian society, very likely without the conscious awareness of either group. Clearly such a goal is much more difficult to achieve than it is merely to state. There needs to be a combined and continuous effort of top-down support from the government, and bottom-up (grass roots) support from both the Spanish-speaking and Quechua-speaking communities. All three of these groups will be very hard to convince. But Hornberger, for one, continues to find reasons to believe it can be done, and keeps pushing to get it done (cf., 1988: 236-37).

This paper has illustrated the decrease in status that Quechua has suffered over the last four and a half centuries, and offered some possible suggestions for ways to attempt to increase the status. However, it is obvious that all of the proposals put forth in this paper involve resources of both time and money, by groups who either do not have them to spare, or do not want to spare them. This lack of access to resources severely restricts the possibility of implementing such plans.

Ultimately, there is a great deal of work to be done, and a relatively small number of people willing to believe in the need to preserve Quechua in Peru. If the language is maintained, it may only be in isolated pockets that do not have daily contact with Spanish. Alternatively, there would have to be a radical change in Peruvian social structure for true revitalization of Quechua to occur on a wide scale. In any case, if such maintenance of Quechua is to be achieved at all, serious attempts to increase its status must be made. Without raising awareness and appreciation of the language by both speakers and non-speakers, there is little chance that the language will survive in the long run.

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Politeness Strategies in the Workplace: Which Experiences Help Japanese Businessmen Acquire American English Native-like Strategies?

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Discourse completion tests (DCT) and questionnaire were answered by 22 male speakers of American English and Japanese in order to answer the questions of 1) which experiences help Japanese business people acquire target-like politeness strategies and 2) how Japanese business people perceive the relationship between degrees of indirectness and politeness in Japanese and in English. Although many research studies show the pragmatic differences between languages, this study shows that in business settings, interestingly, male speakers of American English and Japanese perceive politeness strategies in a similar way. Furthermore, the results show that if learners are exposed to specific experience, they have more chances to acquire target-like politeness expressions rather than transferring their native pragmatics.

Acquiring pragmatic competence, especially politeness expressions in the target language, is very challenging for non-native speakers. Researchers have studied politeness strategies and have shown a number of reasons why cross-cultural misunderstandings may occur: for example, pragmatic transfer of one's native language into a foreign language (Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Welts 1990), social norms (Chen 1993), and relationships between indirectness and politeness (Blum-Kulka 1987). However, according to Ellis (1994), it is not well known how learners acquire the "rules of pragmatics." To address this view, the first question in this study was; which experiences help Japanese businessmen with high levels of ESL proficiency to acquire target like politeness expressions? In other words, when do Japanese businessmen with high levels of ESL proficiency develop the ability to use target-like politeness expressions instead of transferring them from their first language?

In Japanese, indirect speech is characteristic of polite interaction (Clancy 1990). Therefore, it is important to study the relationship between degrees of indirectness and politeness when we study Japanese. The second question was: how do native speakers of Japanese perceive the relationship

between degrees of indirectness and politeness in Japanese and in English? I hoped that the answers to these questions would lead me to a new approach for teaching politeness expressions.

Pragmatics sociolinguistic competence and politeness

It is difficult to teach second language learners sociolinguistic competence. Sociolinguistic competence is viewed by Olshtain (1993) as the ability to interact in culturally as well as pragmatically appropriate ways. If non-native speakers transfer their native language pragmatics and/or cultural norms into the target language, their utterances may not achieve their goals due to sociolinguistic inappropriateness.

According toThomas (1983), although we can judge the grammatical competence of a speaker by prescriptive rules, such as knowledge of intonation and phonology, pragmatic competence cannot be clearly judged as correct or incorrect according to prescriptive rules. "Pragmatic failure" is a situation in which a speaker cannot express himself/herself in a socioculturally appropriate manner; this is not a situation in which a speaker constructs a grammatically incorrect sentence(Thomas 1983: 94). Thomas further explains that a cross-cultural "pragmatic failure" resulting from sociolinguistic transfer, such as social norms, is a more complicated matter than that resulting from linguistic transfer, such as semantics.

Politeness expressions have been studied by second language researchers in order to describe how native speakers talk (Beebe 1988). Native speakers have been not only exposed to particular situations where politeness is expressed, but also have been told what forms to use in those situations (Schmidt 1993). But non-native speakers may have difficulty in expressing politeness appropriately without any instruction, especially if politeness in the target language is not expressed in the same way as in the native language.

Why are politeness expressions difficult to learn?

The early study by Brown and Levinson (1978) demonstrated the universality of politeness expressions, but state that, there were two difficulties in expressing politeness 1) the degree of expressing clear meanings (on record), and 2) the degree of expressing no coerciveness (off record). One compromise for the above two difficulties is the "conventionalized indirectness." Indirect sentences whose meanings are conventionally understood, such as "can you pass the salt?" can satisfy the above two degrees.

Responding to Brown and Levinson (1978), Blum-Kulka (1987) makes a different argument about conventional indirectness. She argues that conventional indirectness is derived from a balanced relationship between "pragmatic clarity" and "apparent noncoerciveness." Pragmatic clarity involves the need for clear expressions, and apparent noncoerciveness is the need to avoid forcing actions. Conventional indirectness may seem impolite if needs for pragmatic clarity and apparent noncoerciveness are

not satisfied at the same time. For example, if the degree of pragmatic clarity is stronger in conventional indirectness, the sentence will sound impolite because of its directness. On the other hand, if the degree of apparent noncoerciveness is stronger in conventional indirectness, the sentence also will seem impolite because the speaker's intention will not be clear.

Results of studies of politeness between native speakers and non-native speakers

Pragmatic transfer of one's native language into a foreign language can be one of the reasons for cross-cultural misunderstandings. Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Welz (1990) study how expressions of refusal differ between native speakers of American English and Japanese speakers of English. The study clearly shows that Japanese speakers of English transfer their native pragmatics into the order, frequency, and content of refusal in English. The followings are typical components of refusals in the study.

Components of refusal made by American English speakers:
1) a statement of positive feeling
2) regret
3) specific excuses

Components of refusal made by Japanese speakers of English
—To higher status:
1) regret
2) vague excuses

—To lower status:
1) empathy
2) vague excuses

(Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz 1990)

Beebe, et al. conclude that these differences are pragmatic transfer from Japanese into English. For example, the order of refusal is not the same between American speakers and Japanese speakers in English. American speakers of English tend to express positive opinions at the beginning of their sentences; however, Japanese speakers of English seldom do so. Secondly, the authors find that Japanese speakers of English tend to make vague excuses to the speaker, but American English speakers tend to make more specific excuses to the speaker.

It is very difficult to analyze the degree of politeness or impoliteness in indirect expressions; as they can be perceived differently according to different cultures. The use of hints plays an important role in determining politeness or impoliteness of sentences. Indirect expressions, such as hints, may be perceived as impolite because of their lack of clarity (Blum-Kulka 1987). Beebe and Takahashi (1989a, b) studied polite expressions of "giving embarrassing information" and "disagreement" in English made by Japanese ESL learners. In the case of a higher status speaker talking to lower status interlocutor, Japanese tend to give a hint or a suggestion related to the embarrassing information rather than reporting the embarrassing information. In the case of a lower status speaker talking to a higher status interlocutor, Japanese ESL learners sometimes ask questions as a hint of

disagreement because Japanese perceive direct disagreement as impolite. While, on the other hand, they found that Americans also ask questions, which clearly indicate disagreement.

Social norms could be one of the reasons for cross-cultural misunderstandings. Chen (1993) shows responses to compliments are different according to social norms and self-image. She studied how American English speakers and Chinese speakers respond to compliments in their native languages. According to this study, American English speakers tend to respond in English to compliments with strategies of acceptance, returning, deflection, and rejecting. On the other hand, Chinese speakers tend to respond in Chinese to compliments with strategies of rejection, thanks + denigration, and acceptance (Chen 1993: 56). The study concludes that the social norms of America and China reflect on the responses to compliments. In American culture, the norm in this situation is to meet the complimenter's positive face needs and to think positively about oneself. But, in Chinese culture, the norm in this situation is to appear humble, although this does not mean Chinese speakers do not think positively of themselves.

Some pragmatic difficulties in polite expressions for Japanese speakers of English

Politeness expressions are deeply related to cultural norms, so it can be difficult to understand them cross culturally. In Japanese, indirect speech is one of characteristics of polite interactions. Clancy (1990) illustrates how communicative styles are acquired in Japanese. In conversations between Japanese mothers and their children, the mothers try to teach their children to read behind the polite statements of other people. For example, in hostess-guest routines, when a guest says "Oh, I have had enough," with the meaning "I do not want to eat any more," the mother explains to her child, who had persisted in offering food, that "She says she does not want to eat any more" (Clancy 1990: 29-30). By explaining the underlying meaning of the utterance, the mother teaches her child to understand indirect speech as polite expressions of strong feeling or wishes with which the child needs to comply. Through this kind of conversation practice, Japanese children gradually acquire the intended meanings of indirect speech.

In Japanese, indirect speech and polite expressions are strongly related. However, a study by Blum-Kulka (1987) shows that the degree of "directness and indirectness" does not correlate with the degree of "politeness and indirectness." Blum-Kulka (1987) explains that in English, the most indirect expressions, hints, are considered a polite way of making a request, but less polite than conventional indirect expressions. While in Hebrew, the most indirect expressions, hints, are not very polite expressions. Thus, it is important to study how Japanese perceive degrees of indirectness and politeness in Japanese and in English.

Beebe et al. (1990), Beebe and Takahashi (1989a, b) and Takahashi and Beebe (1993) focus their studies on the notion of status playing an important role in Japanese polite expressions. They found that Japanese change

politeness strategies according to status differences. On the other hand, Americans tend not to make distinction based on status.

How do non-native speakers acquire politeness expressions?

It is difficult to find how non-native speakers acquire target-like pragmatic expressions. Language proficiency can affect process of acquiring pragmatic expressions. Takahashi and Beebe (1993), Beebe and Takahashi (1989 a, b) point out that 1) lower-proficiency students are not fluent enough to transfer their native pragmatics into the target language, 2) if learners acquire highly proficient levels of the target language, they have enough control over English to express the norms of Japanese politeness. However, I assume there must be one more stage, that is, the stage at which learners acquire the ability to utter target-like politeness expressions.

Schmidt (1993) emphasizes that conscious learning of pragmatics is more effective than learning without consciousness pragmatic awareness. Pragmatics in the target language is not fully acquired by simple exposure to sociolinguistically appropriate input because learners may not notice pragmatic functions correctly. Thus, learners must pay attention to pragmatic features in order to master them.

Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) also conclude through their study of expressing gratitude in the target language that one of the reasons for poor performance in using politeness expressions is a lack of social interaction. The more exposure a learner has to conversations that contain pragmatic features, the easier it is for him or her to use them properly. The more social interaction learners experience, the more they acquire social appropriateness.

The learning period is also one of the factors in acquiring sociolinguistic elements. Swain and Lapkin (1990) also show in their study that early immersion students who start learning French at younger age acquire more target-like sociolinguistic behavior than the late immersion students, who start learning French at older age.

Having reviewed these points of several studies, now I now return to the two questions posed earlier. The first question, "Which experiences help Japanese businessmen with high levels of proficiency in ESL develop their ability to use target like polite expressions instead of transferring them from their native language?" tries to find answers by contrasting different experiences of Japanese bsuiness people using English in business settings. In order to study the acquisition of pragmatic competence, I especially focused on pragmatic transfer, indirect expressions, social norms and status differences. The second question is "How do native speakers of Japanese perceive the relationship between degrees of indirectness and politeness in Japanese and in English?"

Methodology

Following Cohen and Olshtain (1981), desired data are obtained if one's

Table 1.Groups of Respondents, English Experiences, and Languages in Questionnaire.

Group Name	n=	Native L	Firm	Rresidency	L used in questionnaire
JJJ	5	Japanese	Japan	Japan	Japanese
JJE	5	Japanese	Japan	Japan	English
JAE	5	Japanese	Japan	US	English
AAE	2	Japanese	US/UK	US	English
AE	5	English	US	US	English
Total	22	-	-	-	-

backgrounds are socioculturally comparable, so the respondents' age, socioeconomic level and academic background were controlled for. Thus, Japanese respondents were chosen who were young and had working experience in large business companies in which they spoke English. In order to see which experiences help Japanese business people to acquire native-like pragmatics, I made three groups according to the location of the firms and current residency: Japanese who are working for big business firms in Japan (JJE), Japanese who work/worked for big business firms in Japan, and currently are living in the US (JAE), and Japanese who work/worked for big business firms in English speaking countries, and currently are living in English speaking countries (AAE). By dividing the respondents in this way, it is possible to focus on the affects of the period of exposure to English, social interaction with native speakers of English, and language proficiency.

Furthermore, in order to study pragmatic transfer into the target language, social norms, and the degree of directness and indirectness, it was necessary to ask native speakers of English and Japanese to answer the questionnaire in their native languages. Therefore, I distributed the same questionnaires to native speakers of American English who work for one of the big American production firms (AE), and asked Japanese who work for one of the big Japanese trading firms (JJJ) to answer the questionnaires in Japanese. In the latter case, I translated the questionnaire into Japanese.

I distributed questionnaires to respondents by fax or e-mail from Philadelphia to offices or houses in Japan or in the US. Twenty two responses were received (Table 1).

I made the topic and settings related to office environments because it was necessary to select incidents that carry the same weight across cultures (Cohen and Olshtain 1981). The questionnaire consisted of three parts. In part one, the questions were related to work experiences and the period of exposure in English speaking countries (respondents' Background). In part two, I utilized the discourse completion test (DCT) that many researchers have used (see e.g. Beebe & Takahashi,1989, Chen 1993). There were eight questions in this part. DT situations were categorized into 1) refusals to invitations, 2) responses to compliments, 3) giving embarrassing infor-

Table 2.Six Sentences in the study of Degrees of directness and politeness

Degree of directness: categories and examples
—1—
The most direct
1) Mood derivable
ex) Clean up your desk.
2) Want statements
ex) I want you to clean up your desk.

—2—
In Between
3) Hedged performative
ex) I would like to ask you to clean up your desk.
4) Query preparatory
ex) Could you clean up your desk?

—3—
The least direct
5) Strong hints
ex) Your desk looks full of papers.
6) Mild hints
ex) We can not concentrate working in a messy office.

mation and 4) disagreement. Each category had two questions: one was to a higher status colleague and the other to a lower status colleague. It is important to mention here one traditional DCT disadvantage; the respondents may not respond in the same way that they actually speak (Beebe and Takahashi 1989b, Eisenstein and Bodman 1986). In order to compensate for this disadvantage, I added blanks for respondents to comment why they answer accordingly, but this comment was optional. In part three, the relationship between degrees of directness and politeness was studied (degrees of directness and politeness). In this part, six sentences in English or five sentences in Japanese which express a need to clean one's desk were given. Respondents were asked to rank sentences according to the degree of politeness and indirectness. I borrowed the categories from by Blum-Kulka (1987: 136-137) (Table 2).

These sentences were placed randomly in the questionnaire. In the Japanese language questionnaire, sentence 2 was omitted because Japanese does not have a similar expression to the "want statement" in conversation.

Results and Discussion

Table 3 shows the respondents' background. There were 22 answers, 17 were Japanese and 5 were native speakers of American English. All of the respondents were male. The average working experience was 6.5 years. Most of the respondents started working right after they had graduated from college. Among JJEs, JAEs and AAEs (who answered in English) 74% of them spoke English in the office. Furthermore, 67% received English language training during or before working, and 75% of them practiced

Table 3. Respondents' background

Questions for all respondents (n=22)	
Questions	Answers
Sex	Male: 22 Female: 0
Nationality	Japanese: 17 American: 5
Working experience (years)	6.5 years (on average)
Questions only for JJEs, JAEs and AAEs (n=12)	
Questions	Answers
How often do you speak English in the office?	Always (0%), Most of the time (33%), Some of the time (41%), Not at all (26%)
Did you receive business English training?	Yes (67%) 3 years (8%), 6 months (25%), 3 months (34%) No (33%)
What did you study during the business English training?	Business conversation (75%), Others (25%); (writing, vocabulary, discussion)
How long did you stay in English speaking countries?	JJE (4 months), JAE (1.8 years), AAE (4 years) (on average)

business conversation during the training. The JJEs had lived in English speaking countries for four months on average, JAEs 1.8 years on average, and AAEs four years on average. Almost 70% of Japanese who answered the questionnaire in English had studied business conversation and actually experienced business English in their offices on a regular basis. Please see Table 2 for further details.

Refusals

In this section, I will examine the DCT. First, I will compare answers by AEs and JJJs, then attempt to answer the first question: which experiences help Japanese business ESL speakers to acquire target-like politeness expressions.

Refusals were studied in DCT situations 1 and 5 (see appendix). In both situations, all the respondents, Japanese as well as American business people, refused the invitation similarly.

Lower status speaker talking to higher status colleague

In this situation, the respondents were asked to refuse their boss's invitation to a private party. Table 4 shows patterns of refusals according to groups.

Americans (AEs) refused the invitation with unclear excuses, such as "Unfortunately, I have a previous appointment. So, I will miss your party, but I do appreciate the gesture." This is in contrast to the study conducted by Beebe et al. (1990) in which the typical refusal made by American English speakers tends to consist of 1) positive opinions, 2) regret and 3) specific excuses. I found that all the AEs made vague excuses in order to refuse the invitation. This difference may exist only in business settings, in which American business people may not say specific excuses in office settings.

All JJJs (who answered in Japanese) made refusals in the same ways, that is, regret/apology, unclear excuses and refusals, such as "Excuse me, but I can't come because I have a previous appointment," (written in Japanese). However, there were no positive opinions which AEs added. In terms of excuses, most JJJs respondents used "Senyaku" (previous appointments) which is a fixed term in Japanese for refusals. Comparing JJJs and AEs, both of them answered with unclear excuses in their responses. Interestingly, both Americans and Japanese business people regard vague excuses as appropriate to use in refusing the invitation.

The refusals made by JJEs (who live in Japan) resembled answers made by JJJs. For example JJEs answered, "Thanks, but I have another appointment," which is shorter than answers by Japanese who live in the US (JAEs and AAEs). JAEs and AAEs tended to add comments in refusing the invitation such as, "I'm sorry, but I have a prior appointment. I will miss your party, but thank you," which seemed similar to answers by AEs. In this case, we could say that Japanese who lived in the target culture longer acquired more native-like pragmatics.

In terms of excuses, all the respondents except one (JAE) gave vague excuses, such as "a previous appointment" rather than specific excuses, such as "a funeral." It is not clear why almost all the respondents in this study answered with vague excuses. Once again, this may be because it was a business setting and people try not to have too much personal conversation in the office across cultures.

Higher status speaker talking to lower status colleague

In this situation, the respondents had to refuse an invitation to play golf from a vendor. According to Beebe et al. (1990), higher status Japanese tend to reject lower status interlocutors in Japanese and English with 1) empathy and 2) vague excuses. However, actual answers in this study did not display empathy. Rather, Japanese who responded in Japanese (JJJs) rejected the offer with the excuse that it was against the company's rules to play golf with vendors. Americans (AEs) rejected by mentioning the fact that accepting a gift of this kind is against the law. These were skillful ways of making a rejection in this situation. By giving excuses in these ways, the respondents were able to reject the offer reasonably rather than by giving vague excuses. On the other hand, some respondents, both Americans and Japanese, commented in the questionnaire that they should refuse this suggestion clearly because this situation may affect business. In this situation, business people may think that telling the fact directly is a polite way in refusing the invitation posed by the vendor.

Generally, Japanese and American respondents used similar refusal expressions in DCT situations 1 and 5. It is possible that in business settings, business people may share the same notions of politeness irregardless of the country. Therefore, it is difficult to categorize typical refusal expressions according to language.

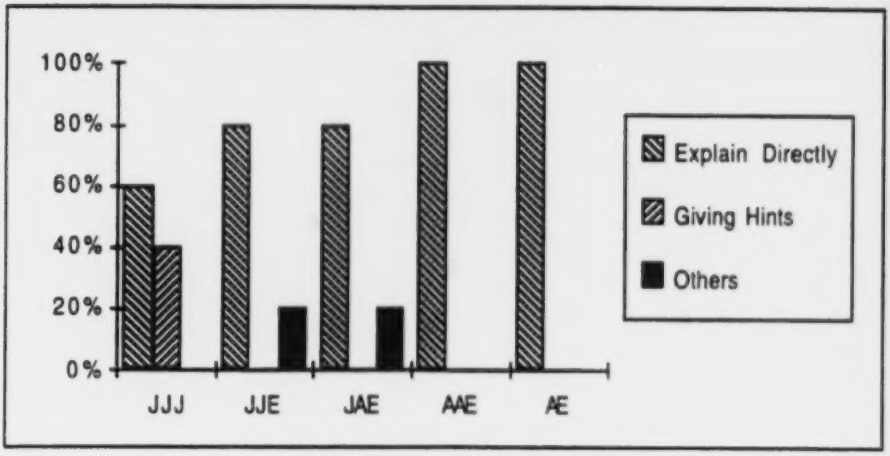

Figure 1. Contents of responses to compliments) n=22
*** Tkg + Cs = Thanking plus Comments (N =22)**

Responses to compliments

Responses to compliments were studied in situations 2 and 3. In these situations, respondents were asked to respond to each compliment given by their assistant and boss. Most of the responses were almost the same. About 90% of the answers contained an expression of gratitude and/or comments about the compliments. However, the content of comments were not the same between Americans and Japanese as we will see below.

Lower status speaker talking to higher status colleague.

The respondents were asked to reply to the following compliment from their boss: "Your presentation was very good." One of the Americans (AEs) answered, "Thank you, I respect your opinion so your praise means a lot to me." One of the JJJs (who answered in Japanese) answered, "Thank you very much. I spent a lot of time preparing for my presentation." Although the type of responses were similar among Japanese and Americans, the content of the comments was not similar. Four AEs out of five added comments which showed positive opinions. On the other hand, 10 out of 12 comments answered by JJJs, JJEs, JAEs and AAEs expressed humbleness in their comments. For example, one Japanese who answered in English (JJE) answered, "Thank you. Actually, the profit sharing this year worked out better than last year, so luckily, I was able to make a good presentation." Also, another Japanese who answered in Japanese (JJJ) gave a comment that it is better not to be too proud. In the Japanese norm, humble expressions are accepted as responses to compliments rather than positive replies such as "Thank you, maybe we can discuss it further over lunch," which was one of the responses by AEs.

Humbleness and positive comments in this study can be related to the results discussed by Chen (1993). The American norm is to be positive to speakers, which is termed as the "Agreement Maxim," and the Japanese norm treats humbleness as an important part of self-image, which is called the "Modesty Maxim" (Chen 1993: 66-68). This result shows that business people tend to show norms in their native language, that is Japanese business people express humbleness in their replies to their boss's compliments, and American business people comment positively in their replies to their boss's compliments. Furthermore, it is possible to say that Japanese ESL business people tended to express the Japanese norm in this situation rather than the American norm.

Higher status speaker talking to lower status colleague

The respondents were asked to reply to the compliment made by an assistant: "You look nice, I like your shirt," (situation 3). In this situation, all respondents answered in a similar pattern as in the situation from lower to higher status, however, the answers were shorter and simpler. In business settings, people may distinguish status when they respond to compliments. Although Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz (1990), Wolfson (1989) state that Americans tend not to change polite utterances according to different status, American business people in this study made simpler responses to their assistant than to their boss.

Giving embarrassing information

Giving embarrassing information was the focus of situations 4 and 7. Respondents were asked to tell their boss that he had ketchup on his cheek or to tell their assistant he/she had spinach in his/her teeth. I constructed situations similar to those in Beebe and Takahashi (1989a: 114-118) because I wanted to see if young Japanese business people in this study use "hints", such as, "did you have lunch with Popeye?" (Beebe and Takahashi 1989: 115) in expressing embarrassing information. On the contrary, most of the respondents answered with the same pattern, that is 1) I am sorry/Excuse me, and 2) you have ketchup/spinach/something on your cheek. However, the respondents changed their answers according to status.

In the situation lower status speaker talking to higher status colleague, all the respondents, except one JJE, specifically reported the fact that their boss had ketchup on his cheek. Fifteen out of 22 respondents said "ketchup." According to the comments in the questionnaire, they worried that their boss would be embarrassed later if they did not tell him about the ketchup on cheek.

In the situation higher status speaker talking to lower status colleague, all AEs and ten out of 16 Japanese respondents mentioned about the spinach on their assistant's teeth. However, six Japanese respondents did not say anything about the embarrassing situation. Some respondents commented that spinach was too small a matter to tell their assistant. There was only one "hint" in this study saying, "did you have spinach for lunch?"

Table 4. Refusals from a lower status to a higher status

Refuser Status lower to higher	Respondents	Answers
(situation 1) *	AE	regret + vague excuse + positive opinion (1) refusal + vague excuse (1) apology + refusal + vague excuse (1)
	JJJ	regret/apology + vague excuse + refusal(4)
	JJE, JAE, AAE	positive opinion + vague excuse (2) positive opinion + apology + vague excuse (2) apology + vague excuse (2) apology + refusal (1) apology + refusal + clear excuse + positive opinion (1)

* some of the respondents are omitted because they did not answer in a discourse style.

Table 5. Direct explanation and its example sentences: from lower to higher status

AE: explain the situation directly + personal comments

Ex. "I already tried a plan very much like that one and it just did not work out. If you have any other suggestions, I would be glad to listen to them."

JAE and AAE: explain the situation directly + personal comments

Ex. "Yes, I think this plan is worth doing, too. But I tried a bit similar plan before, and it turned out to be unsuccessful. But I still think it's worth trying to see if the plan you proposed would work."

Answers by JJEs: explain the situation directly

Ex. "I have already tried it and found to be not so good."

Answers by JJJs: Explain the situation directly

Ex. "We tried similar plan before, but it did not work. The plan needs revise."

Table 6."Want statements" answered by each group

	The Most Direct	In Between	The Most Indirect
JJJ	-	-	-
JJE	#5 (3 answers)	#5 (2 answers)	-
JAE	#5 (1 answer)	#5 (4 answers)	-
AAE	#5 (all respondents)	-	-
AE	#5 (all respondents)	-	-

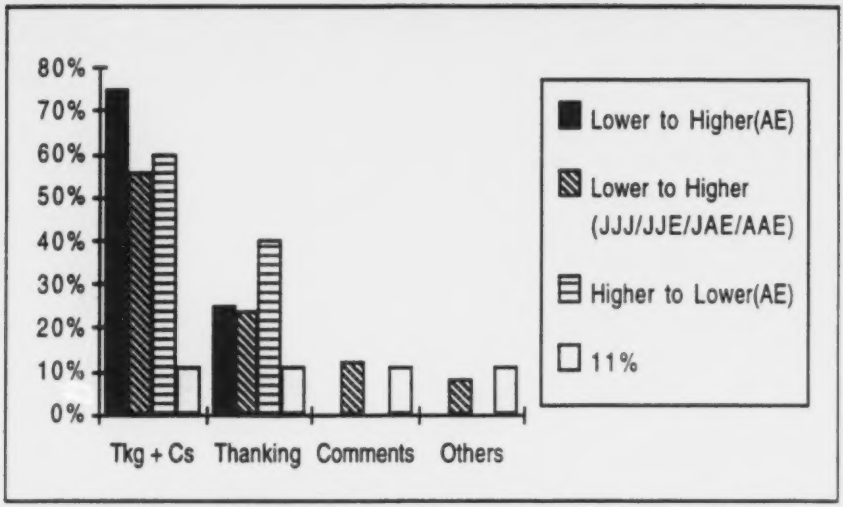

Figure 2. Ways of disagreement according to groups: from lower to higher status

*** Others = keep silent or tell a lie about having not read the plan yet.**

Direct/indirect expressions and status could be related in these situations. Telling about the situation directly to their boss might be considered more polite because the embarrassing situation might influence boss's status. In business settings, directness/indirectness and status may play an important role in polite expressions.

Disagreement

Lower status speaker talking to higher status colleague.

The respondents were also asked what to say to their boss when they found their boss's new plan was clearly wrong because the plan had been already tried before, and it did not work well (situation 6). There were two types of answers: 1) explaining the situation directly and 2) giving hints to let the boss know about the situation. Generally, Japanese and American business people seem to prefer disagreeing directly (see figure 2). In this situation, JAEs and AAEs who are living in the US seem to have acquired target-like expressions of disagreement to a greater degree than JJEs who are living in Japan (see Table 4).

All Americans (AEs) replied by explaining the situation directly, and added personal comments. The AEs tended to make personal comments in order to make polite expressions of disagreement which is also discussed by Beebe and Takahashi (1989a, b). On the other hand, JJJs (who answered in Japanese) answered in two types: (1) direct type and (2) hint type (see figure 2). JJJs hinted by replying, "I will bring the previous file which was

the same type of plan," or "I tried this plan. I will bring the file now" (Originally written in Japanese). Although these respondents knew that the plan did not work well, they did not mention it. Instead, the respondents tried to inform the boss about the fact by showing him the previous file.

While JJJs answered in two types, nine out of 11 answers written by JJEs, JAEs and AAEs were direct type, which is the same type as AEs. In other words, JJEs, JAEs and AAEs tended not to use hints in order to explain the situation to the boss. In the questionnaire, some respondents commented that they would tell the fact clearly because they did not want to waste time. In English, Japanese respondents (JAEs AAEs JJEs) tended to tell disagreement directly (see figure 2).

JAEs and AAEs (who are living in the US) tended to add personal comments after telling the fact directly, which is similar to answers by AEs(see in Table 4). By adding personal comments, responses becomes original. However, JJEs and JJJs (who are living in Japan) tended to tell only the fact. Without comments, responses sound less original. By stating disagreement with personal comments, JAEs and AAEs might express more target-like polite ways of disagreement than those by JJEs which do not have personal comments.

JJJ (Japanese who answer in Japanese) expressed disagreements in two types: disagreement with hints and directly. JJEs, on the other hand, JAEs and AAEs (Japanese who answer in English) seemed to prefer to disagree directly. Furthermore, JAEs and AAEs (who live in the US) seemed to have acquired target-like expressions of disagreement because they tended to express disagreement with personal and positive comments which is similar to expressions of AEs. Here, it is possible to say that exposure to the target culture can help ESL learners to acquire target-like pragmatics.

Higher status speaker talking to lower status colleague.

In situation 8, the respondents were asked to tell a subordinate that his proposal was not good. AEs and JJJs responded by telling problems or suggesting discussions about the plan. However, half of JJE, JAE and AAE answered in harsh ways, that is, telling the fact directly, such as the plan was not good at all.

Although AEs and JJJs suggested discussions in their responses, their responses were not the same way. One of the AEs responded, "Your plan seems very good, but there are some rough edges, maybe we could get together, and work out those rough edges together." JJJs tended to suggest discussion as hints for the problems, such as, "Please explain this point," and "Let's discuss it," (Originally written in Japanese). By asking for further "discussion" about the plan, the respondents were trying to convey the fact that the plan was not very good. AEs had already mentioned that the plan had problems before they suggested discussion. On the other hand, JJJs needed to understand that "discussion" meant that the plan had problems. This indirect expression is the typical Japanese norm, a hint strategy.

Six out of 12 JJEs, JAEs and AAEs (Japanese who wrote answers in English) replied with hint type, and six of them replied with direct expressions. These answers are different from the expressions by AEs and JJJs. Two of the direct expressions is, "unfortunately, I can't accept your plan because....," or "I must tell you my opinion about your plan...." Some respondents commented that, "since I do not want to waste time with the subordinate's plan, I will tell them directly."

In this situation, half of JJEs, JAEs and AAEs used hint strategy which JJJs also used. The other half of them criticized their subordinate's plan harshly, but JJJs seldom replied to their subordinate harshly. This result could be related to language stereotypes. As Beebe and Takahashi (1990) discuss, JJEs JAEs and AAEs might be instructed to speak with direct expressions in English.

The relationship between degrees of Directness and Politeness.

Americans (AEs) and Japanese who answered in Japanese (JJJs) shared the same degree of directness. Also, non-native speakers of English (JJEs, JAEs and AAEs) understood the target-like degrees of directness. However, in the answers of JJEs (Japanese living in Japan, who answered in English) and JAEs (Japanese living in America, who answered in English), "want statements" were not understood to the same degree as the AEs, and AAEs. In other words, Japanese who had less exposure to the target culture, did not understand "want statements" correctly while those Japanese who exposed to the target culture longer did. The reason for this result may be that in Japanese, there are no conversation expressions similar to "want statements," (see Table 4).

All respondents shared the same notions of directness and politeness both in English and Japanese. "Hedge performatives" and "query preparatory," the second direct sentences, were regarded as the most polite expressions. "Strong hints" and "mild hints," the most indirect sentences, were the secondary polite expressions. "Mood derivable" and "want statements," the most direct expressions, were regarded as the least polite expressions. The respondents might choose the second direct sentences as the most polite expressions because they perceived them as a balanced degree of directness and politeness (Brown & Levinson 1978).

If the second language has some expressions that their native language does not have, non-native speakers may not perform them well. Native speakers of Japanese in this study might find it difficult to understand the degree of directness and politeness of "want statements" in English since Japanese does not have the similar expression. However, all JAEs, who had 4 years of working experience in English speaking countries, understood the degrees of directness of "want statements." This result may show that the longer non-native speakers are exposed to the target culture, such as in business settings, the more they acquire target like pragmatics; furthermore, it also comments on the need to have an immersion like experience in order to acquire all forms.

Conclusion

In this study, there were two questions. One was to see which experiences help Japanese business ESL speakers to develop the ability to use target-like politeness expressions instead of transferring them from Japanese pragmatics. The second question was to see how Japanese speakers of English understand the relationship between degrees of directness and politeness.

Referring to the first question, the results of the situations refusals and disagreement suggests that living experience in the target culture helps learners to acquire target-like pragmatics. The respondents living in the English speaking countries developed ability to make their replies original, which Americans tend to prefer (Beebe and Takahashi 1989a,b). Furthermore, only Japanese who had work experience in English speaking countries understood English "want statements." These results suggest that Japanese who had less exposure to the target culture found it difficult to use English pragmatics and politeness expressions appropriately. In other words, the more specific experience learners are exposed to, the more they have chances to acquire the communicative competence.

For the second question, the results show that Japanese and American business men share an understanding of the relationship between degrees of directness and politeness despite the fact that indirectness and politeness are strongly related in Japanese (Clancy 1990).). As Blum-Kulka (1987) discusses, a "query preparatory" such as "Could you clean your desk?" was regarded as the most polite expression because the respondents balance degrees of directness and politeness.

However, the business people in this study valued their native norms in their responses when they responded to higher status business people. Most of Japanese respondents expressed humbleness in their comments, and most of American respondents made positive comments in their responds. In other words, Japanese ESL business people tended to express the Japanese norm in their responses to compliments made by their higher status people.

In this study, the respondents were carefully selected to be young business men at large companies; it is no coincidence that the respondents were male. It is possible to say that the results in this study are an indication of the politeness strategies which young American and Japanese executive male business people tend to use.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Part 1

Please answer the following questions and/or circle.

1) Sex; (male / female)

2) Nationality; (American / Japanese)

3) Working experiences; please fill in the blanks and circle.

(years) at (Japanese firm / American firm) in (Japan / America)

(years) at (Japanese firm / American firm) in (Japan / America)

Other working experiences; ( )

The following questions are only for native speakers of Japanese.

4) How often do/did you use English in your office? Please circle.

(Always / Most of the time / Some of the time / Not at all

5) a)Working experiences in English speaking countries; (years)

b) Did you take English language training before or during working? (Yes / No)

c) If yes, how long did you take training? ( )

d) What did you learn during the training? Please explain briefly.

Ex. Business conversation, Vocabulary.

( )

6) Have you ever lived in English speaking countries? (Yes / No)

If yes, how long? (Years)

Part 2

There are eight situations in this part. After each situation, please respond as you would in actual conversation. You may leave an answer blank if you think that you will not say anything in the situation. Please write comments or explanation for which you respond to situations if you think it is necessary.

Example.

During the lecture, the professor quotes a famous statements with wrong scholar name. What would you say?

You: leave blank

(Comments: I will not say anything in this situation because it is not good time to correct his mistakes.)

In the following situations, you are a young successful executive office worker at a main branch of one of the biggest firms in America.

(1) You are attending at a executive meeting for project X for which you are now working. At the end of this meeting, your boss invites you to his private party. But you can not make it. What would you say?

Boss: We will have a small party next Saturday. I would like to invite all of you in this meeting to this party. I hope you will be able to come with your partners.

You: [spacing reduced by editors]

(Comments:)

(2) Today, you made a presentation about the profit share in contrast with the previous year. Your presentation was successful, and your boss approaches to you.
Boss: Your presentation was very good. I was fascinated with your approach.
You: [spacing reduced by editors]

(Comments:)

(3) Today, what the company calls "casual day", is a day for casual attire. This morning, you put on casual clothes, and it is the first time that you try casual clothes in the office. Your assistant notices your clothes,
Assistant: Mr. A, you look so nice on your casual clothes. I really like your shirt.
You: [spacing reduced by editors]
(Comments:)

(4) You and your boss are having lunch at a cafeteria near your office. Your boss is in a hurry, and he has to leave now. You notice that your boss is about to leave with ketchup on his cheek.
Boss: I need to go now.
You: [spacing reduced by editors]
(Comments:)

(5) Your company has a plan to improve the computer system and you are in charge of this plan. You are comparing three computer companies to decide which one is the best. One of the computer companies invites you to play golf at the fanciest club this weekend, but you can not attend.
Salesman: If you are available this weekend, we would like to invite you to play golf at X club. I think it will be a wonderful opportunity to get to know each other in such a healthy setting.
You: [spacing reduced by editors]
(Comments:)

(6) A new boss has moved into your division. He proposes a new plan to you for your project, but you have already tried the same plan before and it turned out not to be good.

Boss: Did you read my new plan? I think it worth trying once.
You: [spacing reduced by editors]
(Comments:)

(7) It is one p.m. You are waiting for executives from Y company to have an important meeting. Your assistant comes to tell you that they have just arrived and s/he will be greeting them now. Then, you realize that you assistant has some spinach in her/his teeth.

Assistant: I will go to greet Mr. Z from Y company.
You: [spacing reduced by editors]

(Comments:)

(8) Your subordinate proposes a plan to you for the project you will deal with soon. Unfortunately, you are sure that this proposal will not work well. You need to tell him about this. Your subordinate comes into your office.
Your subordinate: Did you have time to look at my proposal?
You: [spacing reduced by editors]
(Comments:)

Part 3

There are six sentences/question, 1 to 6 below, which address cleaning the desk. Which sentence do you think is the most direct, or the most indirect way to ask (see QA)? Which sentence do you think is the most polite, or the least polite way to ask (see QB)? Please place the number of the sentences in the area of most appropriate for that sentences.

Situation: You find one of your co-workers' desk is quite messy. Then, you will say,
You: 1) I would like to ask you to clean up your desk.
2) Your desk looks full of papers.
3) Clean up your desk.
4) Could you clean up your desk?
5) I want you to clean up your desk.
6) We can not concentrate in working in messy office.

QA) The degrees of "Directness Indirectness" of the meaning.
The most direct sentence The most indirect sentence
(1 2 3 4 5 6)

QB) The degrees of "Politeness Inpoliteness" of the meaning.
The most polite sentence The least polite sentence
(1 2 3 4 5 6)

Who is Telling Stories and Whose Stories Are Being Told?

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This paper addresses some recent work on narrative analysis, particularly as it relates to the research process. How do researchers use narrative to position themselves with respect to the participants in a study? How do researchers use conversational stories to construct and negotiate meaning? What does the absence of certain stories reveal about the researchers' structures of expectation and the frames operating within the community under study? This preliminary look at the role of narrative in research illustrates the complex, self-reflective process of conducting cross-cultural studies and speaks to the challenges of intercultural communication.

A long tradition of scholarship surrounds the nature of stories and the act of story-telling, as academics from disparate disciplines seek to understand the role of narrative in society (see Toolan 1988 for a linguistic introduction to the study of narrative).[1] Conspicuously absent from this work, however, is a serious discussion of the ongoing stories researchers tell each other as they describe, interpret, and analyze the data they are collecting. This paper addresses some recent work on narrative analysis, particularly as it relates to the research process. How do researchers use narrative to position themselves with respect to the participants in the study? How do researchers use conversational stories to construct and negotiate meaning? What does the absence of certain stories reveal about the researchers' structures of expectation and the frames operating within the community under study? This preliminary look at the role of narrative in research illustrates the complex, self-reflective process of conducting cross-cultural studies and speaks to the challenges of intercultural communication.

In keeping with the process oriented approach, I shall begin with a brief discussion of the evolution of this project in terms of how it has affected

[1] A complete discussion of this scholarship is beyond the scope of this paper.

the collection of data.[2] I came to this study with a professed interest in narrative analysis and a desire to explore the social construction of identity among Latino adolescents. A professor at the Graduate School of Education (GSE) suggested that I choose the Julia de Burgos Bilingual Middle Magnet School as the site for my research, as the school offered an opportunity to interact with Puerto Rican students who had lived on both the island and the mainland.[3] Located in a low-income urban neighborhood characterized by drugs, crime, and tense Latino/African American relations, Julia de Burgos seemed a rich environment for study. What kinds of stories would these students tell? How would they tell their stories?

In September 1996, two students from GSE and I set out with tape recorders in hand to collect the life histories of the students at the Julia de Burgos Bilingual Middle School. We decided that lunch period would provide an ideal time to speak with students informally about their experiences in both Puerto Rico and Philadelphia. We were primarily interested in collecting oral narratives, but soon realized the difficulty of interviewing students without first establishing a relationship of trust. Moreover, the noise of a middle school lunchroom made tape recording virtually impossible. We then turned our attention to a writing workshop which another GSE student had initiated in one ESL classroom. As "Growing Up Latino in Philadelphia" was the workshop's theme, we saw this as a chance to provide structure and legitimacy while exploring these issues with the students in both conversation and composition. We felt that the workshop's theme would support our collective interest in issues of language, ethnicity, and identity (Rebecca Freeman, Proposal for 1997 Ethnography in Education Forum).

Immediately upon joining the writing workshop, we recognized the difficulties of implementing this type of activity in this particular setting. The students' writing skills in their first language, Spanish, were weaker than we had anticipated and we questioned the rational of teaching writing via their second language, English (see Cummins 1984 for discussion). Although we had originally conceived of the writing workshop as an elementary ESL class, we encouraged students to write in whichever language they felt more comfortable. Our attention shifted from second language instruction to developing activities that would stimulate student writing. Frustrated with the difficulties the students seemed to be having with our writing topics, the teacher suggested that we choose "lighter" themes. Towards the end of the semester we began to restructure the work-

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[2] Although I am reluctant to speak for my colleagues; I have tried nonetheless to represent our collective reading of the situation as fairly and accurately as possible. Readers please note that this reconstruction of events reflects above all my own understanding of the situation as it unfolded.

[3] At the time of this study, Julia de Burgos had recently received a five year grant to fund its transition to a model of two-way bilingual education.

shop, emphasizing shorter pieces of writing and including art as part of the lessons. On the surface, this proved more "successful" as the students seemed to enjoy writing on topics such as upcoming holidays. In retrospect, however, I question why we thought our initial efforts were so poorly received by the students.

As we encouraged students to tell their stories, we ourselves became profoundly aware of how we too were telling stories. The conversations we taped in the car on the way back to campus and the interviews we conducted with one another were rich in narrative form. These stories reflected the "structures of expectation" we constructed and the "positions" we continuously negotiated and adopted as researchers conducting a cross-cultural study. They constituted a wealth of data as we considered the role of narrative in the research process. As white, middle-class graduate students, the research project we began at this predominantly low-income, Puerto Rican middle school informed our understanding of culture, communication, and intercultural communication. How did "we" use stories to make sense of "them" and in particular "their stories"? Before turning my attention to a discussion of the data, I would like to summarize some of the literature which has informed my analyses.

Current voices in the field: A review of the literature

In the first of two articles on the nature of naturally occurring narrative, Labov and Waletzky (1967) illustrated how verbal skills were used to evaluate experience (Labov 1972: 355). Here, they laid the framework for a systematic form - function analysis of everyday narrative. Labov (1972) focused on the linguistic devices used to evaluate experience within black English vernacular culture. He claimed that the evaluative aspect of narrative merited considerable attention as it constituted "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it was told, and what the narrator was getting at" (Labov 1972: 366). Labov distinguished four types of evaluation (external, embedded, evaluative action, suspension of evaluative action) which might reveal why a narrator felt a story to be worth telling. Labov argued that a narrative must be reportable; otherwise, it would remain untold.

As Tannen (1993: 22) noted, Labov's evaluative elements were closely related to her own notion of evidence of expectations, as both authors sought surface linguistic evidence for underlying structures of culturally shaped expectation and assumption. Tannen (1993) examined narratives produced in response to a short film. Assuming that narratives varied cross-culturally, she identified 16 types of evidence which represented "the imposition of the speakers' expectations on the content of the film" (Tannen 1993: 21). In particular, she highlighted how expectations affect language production, concentrating on the task of isolating specific form - function relationships within a given text.

Davies and Harré (1990) developed the notion of positioning, specifically as it related to the discursive production of "self" through narrative. Positioning, they explained, "is the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines (Davies and Harré 1990: 48). Davies and Harré argued that through "positioning" we situate ourselves in conversation with respect to familiar narrative forms learned via our own subjective histories. They believed that positions could be isolated by examining the autobiographical elements of conversation, as these often revealed how the participants viewed themselves and one another in terms of the story line being constructed. Narrative, then, was the vehicle through which we made sense of the world.

Polanyi (1982) looked at the discursive functions of narrative within a given conversation. She argued that rather than viewing stories within discourse as discrete units, conversational stories functioned syntagmatically. The "meaning" of a story in conversation was the product of a two-fold process. First, meaning derived from the narrator's evaluation of the story's point and relevance to the conversation at hand. Second, meaning stemmed from the "talk" which followed the telling of a story in conversation. Here, the narrator and the audience would jointly negotiate their interpretation of the story-telling event. As Polanyi commented, meaning could thus be assigned to a story long after the event took place. She emphasized the micro-level functioning of narrative, as conversational stories revealed local webs of meaning.

Benmayor, Juarbe, Vazquez Erazo, and Alvarez (1988) and Bigler (1996) examined how stories functioned on a societal level. Benmayor et al. posited that stories were "threads to the past, to one's personal history, and to a collective identity" (p. 3). Furthermore, they asserted that a group's narratives reflected "their position and their perspective within the social whole ... given structural inequality, stories "mean" differently, both in their content and in their function" (Benmayor et al. 1988: 3, see Fairclough 1988 for discussion). In "Stories to Live By", Benmayor et al. examined the life histories of several Puerto Rican women with respect to the sociopolitical climate in which these story telling events were realized.

In keeping with this work, Bigler (1996) compared and contrasted the stories told by European-American seniors and minority speakers about "being" and "becoming" American. She openly challenged the assumption that "all ethnic stories are the same" and called for more historical analyses and ethnographic studies of the variation among immigrant experiences (see Bigler 1996: 200 for a list of recent scholarly works which address this issue). Both the work of Bigler and Benmayor et al. pointed to the need for macro-level analyses of stories and story-telling events. How did these "big picture" issues influence intercultural communication and cross-cultural research?

Stories from the field: A preliminary look at the data

Days after the first visit to Julia de Burgos, I interviewed one of my research partners, analyzing the underlying frames which shaped this interaction. Following Tannen (1993), I looked for surface linguistic evidence of our assumptions and expectations. Absent from my analysis, however, was a consideration of the function of narrative in this interaction. What did the stories we told reveal about our structures of expectation? How could we look at these stories in terms of positioning? How did these stories function on the micro-conversational level?

During the conversation, my colleague and I speak at great length about the role of language at Julia de Burgos.[4] In the following excerpt, I am concerned with how the students may perceive me as a white woman who speaks Spanish.[5] I am recounting my feelings upon interviewing three Latino girls.

1. **AP**: because I felt like I didn't learn
2. not that I didn't learn that much but that they did <u>not</u> want to talk to me that much
3. almost like
4. I was a little bit too in on their world or something
5. or
6. they weren't sure
7. or I kept on thinking that they were looking at me going
8. who is this woman?
9. **SR**: I bet it was disconcerting for them to have someone who spoke their language but
10. wasn't quite the same
11. **AP**: I think that I was just really troublesome to them
12. like I just
13. **SR**: Yeah
14. **AP**: and I've had that happen to me before in Panama
15. where people would say when I saw you I thought that you couldn't speak Spanish
16. who are you and where are you from
17. you know and I felt that again
18. that same like
19. you tricked us almost
20. not that it's a bad thing
21. but they just don't know
22. where I am
23. **SR**: I think this is interesting how
24. I think we are sort of in a round about way talking about how language is
25. connected to culture

(interview 9/30/96)

Lines 1 - 8 provide a context for the story about Panama which is told in lines 14 - 22. These introductory remarks reveal my attempt to construct a frame from which to understand my position relative to these three students at Julia de Burgos. Lines 1 and 2 contain a judgment "because I felt like I didn't learn", a retraction of that judgment "not that I didn't learn that much", and an alternate reading of the situation "but that they did not want to talk to me". The judgment, made more salient by the use of a negative, suggests that I expected to learn something and that this learning did not take place — either the information was absent or I failed recognize it. The repetition of negative constructions implies that I did not expect to sense such "resistance" on the part of the students. The retraction and alternate reading show how I attempt to make meaning out of an incongruous situation by advancing several interpretations. In order to reconcile this perceived discontinuity between my frame and my experience, I offer three feasible explanations and evoke an anecdote. The explanations (lines 2, 4, 6 - 8), laid out as distinct possibilities with the connective "or", show my efforts to position the students as "other". I emphasize the pronoun "they" in each explanation, highlighting a strong in-group/out-group distinction. This frame, although fairly visible upon close scrutiny of the linguistic evidence, finds further validation in the Panama anecdote.

The anecdote in lines 14 - 22 reveals the story line within which I have situated myself and the students. The use of the non-syntactic anaphor "that" (line 14) implies that I am referring to a previously encountered type of event (mentioned earlier in the discourse), one which informs my reading of the present. In lines 15 - 16, I clarify my use of "that" by saying "where people would say when I saw you I thought that you couldn't speak Spanish / who are you and where are you from." I am describing, in general terms, situations in which I have been positioned as one who cannot speak Spanish. Although on the surface this statement implies that I am being positioned as a non-Spanish speaker, perhaps it is I who does the positioning. This generalization may suggest my insecurities as a Spanish speaker, for I consider English to be my dominant tongue. This statement provides further evidence for the in-group/out-group distinctions which were developed in the previous paragraph. Although I speak Spanish, I position myself as "other." Furthermore, the pronouns in lines 17 - 22 add to this construction of two different groups — researchers and subjects. In line 17, I ally myself with SR offering her co-membership with the inclusive phrase "you know." In line 21, I clearly position the students as "they." Thus, in certain respects, this story serves to highlight the construction of

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[4] In this excerpt "AP" refers to me, while "SR" refers to the colleague whom I interviewed. Apart from my own name, all others have been changed to protect the privacy of the individuals in this study.

[5] SR is a native speaker of English learning Spanish, while I am fluent in both languages.

in-group/out-group identities, as I verbally negotiate my role as researcher in relation to the participants in the study and my university colleagues.

The comment "you tricked us" (line 19) presents an interesting linguistic twist, as I invert the pronouns and take on the voice of the students. Here, I have attributed certain characteristics to the students according to my own structures of expectation. The students have not balked at being deceived, rather I have read their reticence to share stories with me as an indication of mistrust. Moreover, I qualify this remark with the adverb "almost" suggesting that perhaps "trick" is too strong a word. In lines 20 - 22, I rescind the allegation of trickery and offer an alternate explanation. The judgment "not that it's a bad thing" seems to follow from my concern that the students will not understand "where I am" or more specifically my position (line 22). After all, I look like "someone who couldn't speak Spanish." Although I have no intention of "tricking" the students; nonetheless, given my past experiences I am worried about how they will perceive me.

Looking at the role of conversational stories within discourse, the location of the Panama anecdote exemplifies Polanyi's assertion that we often use narrative for illustrative purposes (Polanyi 1982: 54). The Panama story serves to exemplify my assertion "I think that I was just really troublesome to them" (line 11) by explaining why I took this position. As Deborah Tannen observed,

> people approach the world not as naive, blank-slate receptacles who take in stimuli as they exist in some independent and objective way, but rather as experienced and sophisticated veterans of perception who have stored their prior experiences as "an organized mass," and who see events and objects in the world in relation to each other and in relation to their prior experience (Tannen 1993: 20-1).

The Panama story is in accord with this view of human behavior. Here, a story with its strictly ordered structure can be seen as an "organized mass" of prior experience. It functions as empirical evidence to support my interpretation of a novel situation. Furthermore, Polanyi argued that a story's interpretation within a particular conversation also rested upon the meaning assigned to it via the talk following the telling (Polanyi 1982: 60). SR's evaluation of my narrative in lines 23 - 25 suggests that she is offering an interpretation as to why I told my story. The hedges "sort of" and "in a round about way" imply that SR is reluctant to speak for me and my intentions in relating the Panama anecdote; however, she offers a story in keeping with what she feels was the "meaning" of mine. By examining narrative in terms of its micro-level discursive function, we see how story mean-

ing is negotiated through story telling within a specific conversation.

Learning to read stories: A close look at the process of data analysis

Turning to the issue of data analysis with respect to macro-level research concerns, Shirley Brice Heath (1983) argued that the conception of stories and story telling events was shaped by local webs of meaning that extended beyond micro-conversational levels. In her study of two culturally different communities in the Piedmont Carolinas, she wrote, "For Roadville, Trackton's stories would be lies; for Trackton, Roadville's stories would not even count as stories" (Heath 1983: 189). This observation seems particularly salient when we consider the writing workshop at Julia de Burgos in terms of intercultural communication.

As researchers working in a cross-cultural setting, we must remain cognizant of the strength of our own narrative voices. If we extend the definition of "narrative" to include what Davies and Harré termed "story lines" (1990: 46), we see how narrative analysis can be used across levels and across contexts to identify patterns of meaning. The story lines in which we choose to situate ourselves and the participants in the study often influence what we "find". A close look at how we have attempted to "read" the writing workshop reveals this continuous process of negotiating meaning through previously learned story lines.

Throughout the semester, we expressed growing concern as to how we could motivate students to tell their stories during the writing workshop. As one GSE researcher commented,

> I think that we're going to have to be very clever about doing things like brainstorming and I think so far we have been very clever about getting them not tricking them but getting them to want to do it but I think that our job is to motivate them (GSE researcher YL 10/16/96).

We spent much time negotiating what "motivation" means in this context and our use of pronouns around this issue seems to reflect the positions of power we have adopted within our "story". Moreover, we devoted many hours to contemplating our roles with respect to the students and the teacher in the classroom. Many of our conversations revolved around teaching strategies as we recounted what "works" and what does not. These comments again reveal our efforts to make meaning in terms of our underlying structures of expectation and assumption. Researcher SR and I remarked at the end of one lesson,

> SR: ...it was great that you had the model today, but I'm not sure that you needed it. You could have read your story and then said O.K. tell me about

AP: Yeah I was just thinking that too. We don't need an overhead of it. We can just read it (excerpt from conversation among AP, SR, and YL 10/16/96).

These reflections seem to highlight the dynamic nature of the research process as we continually recast our frames to fit new experiences and add new lines to our stories. Furthermore, the themes on which we choose to focus — motivation, roles, teaching strategies — speak to our underlying conception of what is worthy of mention.

In summarizing the writing workshop thus far, our collective dissatisfaction with the theme "Growing up Latino/a in Philadelphia" merits some discussion from an intercultural communication perspective. We now turn to the third question brought forth in the introduction to this paper: What does the absence of certain stories reveal about the researchers' structures of expectation and the frames operating within the community under study? Labov's comments on the "evaluative" aspect of narrative may inform our understanding of the situation. He wrote:

> To identify the evaluative portion of a narrative, it is necessary to know why this narrative — or any narrative — is felt to be tellable; in other words, why the events of the narrative are reportable... In other words, if the event becomes common enough, it is no longer a violation of an expected rule of behavior, and it is not reportable (1972: 370 - 371).

Perhaps many of the students were unresponsive to our topics not because of poor writing skills; but rather, because the stories we asked them to tell were unreportable in this context. For example,

> We then moved to writing compositions. The boys had difficulty getting started. At first I thought Jorge was illiterate, but I think that he for some reason or another just did not want to participate. Carlos and Miguel kept challenging my authority and spent a lot of time finding paper, etc. Seemed that many of them did not have a lot of experience with reading and writing. I was surprised at how low level their Spanish skills were — lots of common words spelled wrong ("ay" for "hay"; dropped "s"; "tan bien" for "también") (field notes 10/9/96).

Here, I attribute the students' difficulties to lack of "experience with reading and writing". My focus is on academic issues of language proficiency, perhaps indicative of the frame I evoke at this point in time to explain what I observe. Bearing in mind Labov's reportability constraint, perhaps we have asked the students to tell a story that they do not feel is

worthy of being told. Consider the following observation:

> The boy with the mustache (next to Raúl) also had difficulty writing on his own. After saying that he didn't do anything for Halloween, I tried to get him to talk about another holiday (like Valentine's Day — he told me that he had a girlfriend). He kept saying that he did nothing, so I started dictating a story to him — "I don't celebrate any holidays. I always stay home...". This silliness seemed to keep his attention and he seemed surprised at being able to write such stuff (field notes 10/30/96).

Here, I am asking "the boy with the mustache" to tell an "unreportable" story, for he claims to have done nothing for Halloween. In dictating a story about "doing nothing", I am openly flouting the "reportability" constraint. This may explain why the boy shows such surprise at my behavior. I am challenging both his assumptions about the function of writing and his expectations as to how a teacher should behave. Returning to the question of why many students did not seem willing to address the topic "Growing Up Latino in Philadelphia", perhaps as a "common" experience, it did not seem worthy of narrative in this context. Consider the following:

> Marta Mendosa explains that she the Dean of Students — the one who expels people. Tells us that the students at Julia de Burgos are very difficult. The children never leave their block (draws a square on the table with her fingers — perhaps to emphasize this point). They don't know anything else but the few blocks in which they live. They are born, grow up, have babies, etc. on the same corner. She used to take the kids on a clandestine field trip to the Gallery on Market Street — most of them have never been to Center City, let alone a shopping mall (field notes 10/23/96).

If what Marta Mendosa said is true, then maybe we were wrong in assuming that our topic would generate narratives worthy of report. In fact, the introduction of this theme can be seen as an act of positioning — for we construct the students as "other" and silence their voices by asking for an untellable story.

In sum, whether or not we take the above interpretation to be "correct"; nonetheless, the process by which we arrive at such conclusions emphasizes the importance of frame analysis to cross-cultural research. Unless we are aware of both our own "structures of expectation" and the "frames" operating in the community under study, our data may be subject to gross misinterpretation. We need to recognize that not just our stories, but also our analytical skills are shaped by cultural forces. As intercultural researchers, we must continually ask why and how we have arrived at certain interpretations. In this paper I argue that narrative analysis helps us to understand the stories we create to make sense of the world, particularly as we seek to understand the perspectives of others.

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Anne Pomerantz is a doctoral student in the Educational Linguistics program at the University of Pennsylvania. For the past two years she has also been a Spanish instructor at the university. She holds a degree in classical studies from Weslyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. Her research interests include bilingualism, issues of language proficiency, and narrative analysis.

WPEL Index

-Please note: After 13 years of existence, the University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Educational Linguisticis has contributed to the development of many researchers. The following is an idex of the articles, and where possible, abstracts for all of the WPEL volumes published to date. All articles are still available by requesting a copy from the editors. Cross indexing will be available through our website at http://www.gse.upenn.edu.

Spring 84-Vol. 1(1)

Wolfson, Nessa
Pretty is as pretty does: A speech act view of sex roles. 1-18.

No abstract was published with this article.

Jones, Steve
English interference loans as a resource in the functional expansion of St. Lucian Creole. 19-38.

This paper is a study of language contact between French Creole and English on the Caribbean island of St. Lucia. Although much of the discussion is related to grammatical questions, the implications go beyond issues in descriptive linguistics. The nature of English-Creole contact is an important question for St. Lucian education and social life in general, especially given the increased promotion of Creole as a medium of contact between the St. Lucian government and people, and the possibilities of the future use of Creole as a medium of education and literacy. The study gives some evidence that English-Creole contact in St. Lucia is a phenomenon that may provide one of the mechanisms for the use of St. Lucian Creole (SLC) as an official or literary language, as demonstrated by the speech of St. Lucians in official and literary settings. The first part of the paper outlines the material and social history of the island as it relates to the language situation, particularly to forms of English-Creole contact. The second part reviews some models of language contact phenomena developed by linguists in the past several years, and describes some terminology taken from a study of a socially analogous situation on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. The third part is a discussion of some material from Creole texts which were recorded in St. Lucia in official or literary settings, and a description of some of the formal aspects of English-Creole contact, specifically English interference loans in Creole discourse. By way of conclusion, the paper discusses problems of language development raised by St. Lucian language planners and educators, as they relate to the phenomena described in the study.

Pica, Teresa
A re-examination of L1 interference and L2 complexity as factors in second language syllabus design. 39-60.

A fundamental weakness shared by second language syllabi is that they have been based on their authors' assumptions about language learning and have lacked an empirically supported, psycholinguistic grounding. The following article will review two major traditions in syllabus design which share this weakness.

Underlying one tradition is the assumption that second language structures which are the most different from the learner's L1 are also the most difficult to learn, and therefore should be given strongest emphasis in the syllabus. In the other tradition, it is assumed that there is a direct relationship between linguistic complexity and learning difficulty, and that the syllabus, therefore, should present target structures to the learner in an order of increasing linguistic complexity.

This article will re-examine the assumptions underlying these two traditions in syllabus design in light of recent findings from second language acquisition research.

Williams, Jessica
Repairs in conversation: A demonstration of competence. 61-74.

No abstract was published with this article.

Huebner, Thom
Language education policy in Hawaii: Two case studies and some current issues. 75-104.

Any language policy (and even the absence of a formal language policy constitutes, in effect, a language policy) reflects the social, political, and economic context of public education. At the same time, the effect of that policy on society extends beyond the generation receiving direct services under it, for it influences what that generation brings to the task of educating its children.

The current study explores the relationship between language policy and non-linguistic, non-educational issues in two case studies, both set in Hawaii. The first involves the loss of Hawaiian, the indigenous language, to English, an immigrant language during the Nineteenth Century. The second involves the linguistic assimilation of the Japanese during the first half of the Twentieth Century. While both involve language loss, the long-term effects in each situation have been quite different.

The two case studies provide a historical backdrop for understanding the contemporary setting. The second part of the paper examines several current issues in language policy and language planning in Hawaii, especially as they relate to programs of bilingual education.

Weinstein, Gail
Investigating literacy: Approaches, tools, and their consequences for inquiry. 105-126.

No abstract was published with this article.

Fall 84 Vol. 1(2)

-Please note: This volume is not available.-

Spring 85 - Fall 85

-Please note: WPEL was not published during this time.-

Spring 86- Vol. 2(1)

-Please note: There are no article abstracts published in this volume.-

Brodkey, Linda
A context for revision: An ethnographic perspective. 1-24.

Hornberger, Nancy
Should Quechua be used in Puno's rural schools?. 25-54.

Wolfson, Nessa
The Bulge: A theory of speech behavior and social distance. 55-84.

Young, Richard
The acquisition of a verbal repertoire in a second language. 85-120.

Pica, Teresa, Doughty, Catherine, and Young, Richard
Making input comprehensible: Do interactional modifications help? 121-146.

Howland, David
Slaying the Jabberwock. 147-150.

Fall 86-Vol. 2(2)

-Please note: There are no article abstracts published in this volume.-

Kipers, Pam
Initiation and response in service encounter closings. 1-16.

Pomerance, Anita
A comparison of speaker overlaps across three genres of discourse. 17-50.

Hunt-Johnson, Nora J.
Language policy and use in Zaire: Issues, influences and directions. 51-72.

Unger, Jess B.
Language conflict, nationalism, and ethnic separatism in Finland. 73-102.

Daikuhara, Midori
A study of compliments from a cross-cultural perspective: Japanese vs. American English. 103-134.

Micheau, Cheri
The poetry of common sense: Proverbs as advice. 135-158.

Goldschmidt, Myra M.
The relationship of age to address forms in public service encounters. 159-163.

Kepol, Napisah
An analysis of extended elicitation patterns in ESL classrooms. 164-170.

Spring 87-Vol. 3(1)

-Please note: There are no article abstracts published in this volume.-

Hill, Clifford
"Leda and the swan": Where description ends and interpretation begins. 1-34.

Boatman, Dana
A study of unsolicited advice. 35-60.

Coddington, Lynn
"Well, you know, Mean Gene . . . ": The professional wrestling interview. 61-80.

Young, Richard
Language planning and language policy in ethnic minority areas in China. 81-112.

Kernaghan, Barbara G.
Infant story-hour in a public library: Questions. 113-138.

Tanner, Mark
"Your Honor, it was like this . . . ": Narrative discourse in small claims court. 139-154.

Fall 87-Vol. 3(2)

-Please note: There are no article abstracts published in this volume.-

Hymes, Dell
A note on ethnopoetics and sociolinguistics. i-xxi.

Katriel, Tamar
"I know something that you don't know": Secret-sharing as a social form among Israeli children. 1-18.

Lewis, Nora
Some difficulties in the transcription of oral narrative. 19-40.

Staib, Susan
ENFI: A system to promote reading and writing. 41-56.

Kanagy, Ruth
IKEMACHEN!! Communicative style in a Japanese mother-infant interaction. 57-74.

Ness, Erica
Language policy and education in Viet Nam. 75-94.

Hamady Diop, Amadou
A discussion of Grice's conversational maxims with reference to Pulaar culture. 95-110.

Murray, Marge T.
The remythification of academic discourse. 111-124.

Gill, Sandra K. and Kono, Yukiko
Observations in a multi-ethnic elementary school. 125-144.

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-Please note: There are no article abstracts published in this volume.-

Erickson, Frederick
Discourse coherence, participation structure, and personal display in a family dinner table conversation. i-xxvi.

Billmyer, Kristine
The role of patients' questions in the medical interview. 1-20.

Sotillo, Susana M.
Monitoring changes over time in the interlanguage of a long-term resident second language learner. 21-30.

Guerra, Margaret
Verbal swaggering: preschool children's strategies for speaking at the lunch table. 31-54.

Lyons, Alice and Huber, Lisa
The role of the community: Two papers. 55-88.

Holliday, Lloyd
Let them talk! A study of native-nonnative interaction in conversation. 89-100.

Boxer, Diana
The news interview on morning television. 101-116.

Spiegel, Julie I.
A sociolinguistic perspective of a sixth grade classroom: Preliminary ethnography. 117-139.

Fall 88-Vol. 4(2)

-Please note: There are no article abstracts published in this volume.-

Labov, Joanna
Assessing what a second language learner knows through student-teacher nteraction. 1-30.

Jakar, Valerie S.
Now you're getting real! Perspectives of a "Group Processes" course. 31-52

Fecho, Robert
What happens when teachers and students talk: A teacher investigates teacher/student writing conferences. 53-68.

Schultz, Kathy
Towards defining a community of learners: A cross-cultural view of collaboration. 69-92.

Dada, Ayorinde and Ogunyemi, Olubunmi
Education at the crossroads: Bilingualism in elementary classrooms in Nigeria. 93-103.

Spring 89-Vol. 5(1)

Foster, Michele and Newman, Jeanne
"I don't know nothin' about it" Black teachers' code-switching strategies in interviews. 1-10.

In this paper the authors analyze the code-switching behavior of Black teachers. It discusses the use of code-switching as a narrative device, for allusion and for emphasis and speculates on its connection to social relationship.

Wolfson, Nessa
The social dynamics of native and non-native variation in complimenting behavior. 11-34.

This paper reviews much of the research that has been conducted by Wolfson and others on compliment/response behavior in English. Wolfson demonstrates support for the systematic patterning of speech behavior associated with complimenting, most especially support for The Bulge Theory, which addresses the qualitative difference between the speech behavior of intimates, status-unequals and strangers, and the speech behavior of non-intimates, co-workers and acquaintances. Wolfson goes on to report on recent evidence that non-native speakers of English are not acquiring such sociolinguistic patterns, which calls into question current ESL teaching materials, and points to the need for further research into sociolinguistic patterns that could be of immediate use to the language learner.

Goldschmidt, Myra
For the favor of asking: An analysis of the favor as a speech act. 35-50.

This paper examines 'the favor' as a form of speech behavior within the set of speech acts called 'requests'. Data on favor-asking was collected ethnographically and analyzed according to the status, gender, age, and social relationship of the participants involved. The analysis indicates that favors can serve various functions and demonstrate the relationship between speech behavior, social values and social structure.

Unger, Jess B.
A diary study of second language learning: participant observation in a residential educational setting. 51-74.

This paper is an analysis of an ethnographic examination of a language learning program in Sweden, which took place in a folk high school, a residential educational facility for adults, in the summer of 1988. The methods of investigation included participant observation, with field notes, and a diary component, in which were recorded a broad spectrum of reactions to learning in this particular environment. Affective, physical, linguistic, and pedagogical aspects of communal living and learning are discussed in the analysis, and recommendations for the use of diary studies as research and learning tools are proposed, along with conclusions regarding the effectiveness of residential language programs of this type.

Hardman, Joel
TESOL as language planning: An examination of a Refugee Processing Center in Thailand. 75-92.

This paper demonstrates how TESOL can be a form of language planning by examining ESL programs that are in place in a Refugee Processing Center in Thailand. A language planning process in shown to be at work there that is intertwined with the particular geo-political history of the region and the socio-political aims of the U.S. Department of State.

Clark, Mark Andrew
Pieces of a frame: A student's writing of an academic essay. 93-114.

This study attempts to uncover interactive processes of reading and writing about a text by studying how one student writer writes about reading. It describes how this interactive process helps in the creation of a product, an academic essay about a work of literature.

Fall 89-Vol. 5(2)

Pica, Teresa
Research on language learning: How can it respond to classroom concerns?. 1-27.

This paper summarizes recent research in language learning and its implications for language teachers and others interested in language pedagogy and practice.

Boxer, Diana
Building rapport through indirect complaints: Implications for language learning. 28-42.

This paper reports the results of a pilot study on indirect complaints; collected data contained six response types and these are described. The paper further suggests the usefulness of indirect complaint sequences as a strategy toward the goal of negotiating interaction for second language acquisition.

Chacoff, Ana
(Bi)literacy and empowerment: education for indigenous groups in Brazil. 43-62.

This paper examines the history of language policy in Brazil, the question of a national language, and their effect on indigenous language education projects, specifically bilingual education. Independent "Freirean" educational projects are analyzed according to the standard models of bilingual education: transitional, maintenance, and enrichment. A case is made that the goals of these projects might ultimately be more assimilationist than pluralistic.

Drechsel, Joanne
Peer groups and the language of negotiation. 63-82.

This paper examines the oral and written language used in peer groups working on draft revisions. There is a brief review of the literature dealing with peer groups and language usage. A study involving college-age students illustrates the characteristics of a language of negotiation that is integral to the draft revision process, especially in small peer groups. The implications for writing pedagogy are then briefly explored.

Newman, Jeanne
"In Chinese Way, . . . /ko+i:uwn/": An analysis of the interlanguage of Yihwen Kuo. 83-93.

This paper describes the interlanguage use and variation of Yihwen Kuo, a native speaker of Taiwanese who has been in the United States for almost four years. By using taped samples of his oral English as the data for analysis, three styles of language-learner language are identified for this subject. Sociolinguistic factors which may influence his choice of styles are examined and commented upon.

Pappas, Jennifer
Qualifiers in patient-physician discourse: An analysis of interviews from radio call-in programs. 94-111.

This paper reports on a study which investigated how qualifiers are used in radio medical call-in shows. It offers some support for the hypothesis that physicians qualify their medical advice in ways which could impede effective communication.

Spring 90-Vol. 6(1)

Hornberger, Nancy
Creating successful learning contexts for biliteracy. 1-22.

This paper seeks to shed light on the complex challenge that faces teachers in schools serving linguistically and culturally diverse student populations. Drawing from a long-term comparative ethnographic study in two Philadelphia public schools, it describes what it is that two of the teachers in these schools do to create successful learning contexts for the biliterate development of the linguistic minority children in their classes. Two classrooms situated in contrasting community, program, and language contexts are brought into focus: one a fourth-fifth grade in a two-way maintenance bilingual program attending to Puerto Rican children and the other a fourth grad in a mainstream/ESOL-pullout program attending to Cambodian children. The learning contexts are discussed in terms of four themes identifying critical aspects of context for teaching for biliteracy: motivation, purpose, text, and interaction. Specifically, the paper asks what it is that these teachers do that goes beyond good teaching to be good teaching for biliteracy, and how their approaches differ according to the particular configuration of biliterate contexts, biliterate media, and individual biliterate development of the linguistic minority children in their classes.

Hicks, Deborah
Narrative skills and literacy learning. 23-52.

The paper examines the storytelling narratives produced by four children, two low-income African-American first graders and two middle-income white first graders. The means of analysis Hicks employs is a text analysis based upon the delineation of lines into groups, referred to as stanzas. Hicks calls into question the characterization of either group of children as having intrinsically more oral or literate styles of narration. Hicks points out subtle differences in narrative styles which may help to explain the mismatch between community and classroom styles of discourse.

Pica, Teresa, Berducci, Dom, Holliday, Lloyd, Lewis, Nora, and Newman, Jeanne
Language learning through interaction: What role does gender play?. 53-84.

This investigation of native speaker with non-native speaker (NS-NNS) interaction in same and cross-gender dyads on four information exchange tasks revealed that male and female NNSs make and receive comparable opportunities to request L2 input and modify interlanguage output during interaction with female NSs. During interaction with male NSs, these opportunities are significantly lower for female than male NNSs. In addition, more request-response exchanges are found on tasks in which either NS or NNS is given initial control over task related information. Findings of the study are attributed to cultural similarities and differences in the interactional behaviors of the participants.

Valasek, Michele
The "other language": Language planning in Belgium. 85-107.

This paper focuses primarily upon the status planning activities and ensuing legislation that has influenced the use of Netherlandic and French in the northern provinces of Belgium[2]. Following a brief overview of the major historical trends in language use within this geographical area, this paper traces several of the major social and economic factors that crystallized eventually into political issues.

Fall 90-6(2)

Wolfson, Nessa
Intercultural communication and the analysis of conversation. 1-20.

From the editors: This paper was delivered as a keynote address at a conference on sociolinguistics in South Africa last Spring. In it Dr. Wolfson discusses the concept of sociolinguistic rules and how they vary across cultures, stressing that lack of knowledge of these rules can result in misunderstandings when people from different cultural backgrounds interact. She asserts that native speaker intuitions are unreliable indicators of such rules, and suggests means of investigating spoken interaction in one's own speech community. Finally, she reports on the results from some of her own research on complimenting in American English, comparing them to those of other researchers looking at other cultures.

Benander, Ruth
Methods of inquiry into cultural expression in speech behavior. 21-30.

In the following paper, Bernander's and Nessa Wolfson's work is based on the idea that the values governing appropriateness of particular speech behaviors are culturally specific. In the process of learning a new language, a person may or may not learn the social appropriateness of particular

words and phrases. Conversely, a person may learn what she believes are the norms of the new language and culture, but choose not to be guided by them in the performance of a given speech behavior.

Billmyer, Kristine
"I really like your lifestyle": ESL learners learning how to compliment. 31-48.

In order to investigate the effect of classroom instruction on actual encounters between native and non-native speakers of English, this study was conducted which compares the production of compliments and replies to compliments by two different groups of ESL learners during social interactions with native speakers of the target language. One group is given formal instruction in the rules of complimenting in American English, and one is not. Billmyer concludes that formal instruction of social rules of language can assist learners in communicating more appropriately with native speakers of the target language in meaningful social interaction outside of the classroom.

Dogancay, Seeran
"Your eye is sparkling": Formulaic expressions and routines in Turkish. 49-64.

This paper reviews the literature on formulaic expressions and their importance to the field of TESOL. Dogancay analyzes the structure and function of formulaic expressions in taped conversations of native speakers of Turkish. She describes different structures and functions of pragmatic idioms: those using exaggeration, negative connotations, or self-reference, those occurring in adjacency pairs, and others. Dogancay concludes that the study of prefabricated expressions can reveal not only a substantial part of the communicative competence of the native speakers of a language, but also the values and beliefs of a society.

Okushi, Yoshiko
Misunderstood efforts and missed opportunities: An examination of EFL in Japanese. 65-72.

This paper affirms the importance of sociolinguistic rules of speaking by examining how these rules affect Japanese language learners as they attempt to build communicative competence in English. By examining the English language curriculum in Japan and by citing the subsequent difficulties that Japanese encounter when they enter an English-speaking community, this paper argues for the systematic instruction of sociolinguistic rules of speaking.

Williams, Jessica
Discourse marking and elaboration and the comprehensibility of second language speakers. 73-90.

An examination of the planned and unplanned speech of non-native-

speaking teaching assistants suggests that the greatest variation between the two conditions lies in the use and elaboration of discourse marking. In the non-native speakers' planned production, discourse moves are more likely to be marked more overtly and elaborately than in the unplanned production, while the level of syntactic and morphological errors differ only slightly. These differences in marking appear to contribute significantly to comprehensibility ratings of the production of non-native speakers, but not that of native speakers. These results suggest native speaker production may not always be the appropriate target and that the elaboration of discourse, rather than morphosyntactic accuracy, may be a more effective focus of instruction for these speakers.

Spring 91-7(1)

Jacob, Grace Plamthodathil
The mediators: Providing access to texts in a semi-urban Maharashtrian college community. 1-14.

This paper is based on an ethnographic study of the enactment of an English curriculum in a semi-urban Maharashtrian community college in western India. It addresses the issues of cultural competence and cultural continuity in second language education in a multilingual, non-western society. Systematic investigation of classroom behavior reveals the role identity that learners expect and teachers maintain in the classroom in response to the language learning situation. As mediators, teachers are observed providing access to English texts in a traditional culture of rephrasal and narration. Jacob perceives implications for developing the learner's communicative competence from a passive to an active level of classroom interaction, i.e.: restructuring, if it is to take place, must have its origin primarily in the community's self-inquiry and deliberations directed towards existing cultural competence; and any attempt to restructure the curriculum make demands on existing cultural competence.

Berducci, Dom
Gender distribution of negative judgments. 15-38.

This paper examines how negative judgments are distributed across gender. A negative judgment is defined as a speech act in which the overt semantic content is generally negative and it is directed at either the self, a person other than the interlocutor, or some object. Subjects for the study are drawn from the university community. Examples of negative judgments are collected in the field and analyzed. The paper then discusses some possible sociolinguistic rules for the use of negative judgments.

Hickey, Thomas
Distance learning and second language Acquisition: The role of input and interaction. 39-50.

This paper suggests the field of distance learning as a fruitful area of inquiry for second language acquisition researchers. It first defines distance learning and differentiates it from both formal instruction and naturalistic learning. It then focuses on the roles of input and interaction in second language acquisition and discusses how a better understanding of these would not only benefit second language acquisition research but would also improve the quality of distance education when applied to language acquisition.

Katranides, Daphne
Educational alternatives for elementary school students in Spanish-speaking communities. 51-68.

Katranides considers four educational programs available to elementary aged school children of Spanish-English speaking communities in the United States in this paper which is intended as exploratory and informational rather than as evaluative or advocative. She draws on work by Delgado-Gaitan, Garcia and Otheguy, Homberger, and Kjolseth, among others to investigate the fit of the varied cultural characteristics of three major Hispanic groups with the English language learning programs available to them.

Velho, Márcia Montenegro
Literacy in Brazil: For what purposes? 69-87.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss two literacy programs that were implemented in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s. The first, built on the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, was carried out in the early 1960s. The second program, the Brazilian Literacy Movement (MOBRAL), although created in 1967, wasn't implemented until 1970, and lasted until 1985, when a military government transferred power to civilians. The motivation for discussing these two plans results from their two basic differences. The first difference is related to the programs' philosophical and conceptual bases, while the second difference, a consequence of the first, is the way they were organized and implemented. Before discussing the plans, however, it is necessary to provide some background information about the socio-political situation in Brazil in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Language planning is, ultimately, a political decision which is clearly reflected in the way both of their plans were shaped and developed. After situating the historical context of the two plans, this paper will compare and discuss them within a language planning framework.

Fall 91-7(2)

Pica, Teresa
Do second language learners need negotiation? 1-36.

Does second language (L2) learners' participation in negotiation with native speakers (NSs) meet their needs for data on L2 lexical and structural features? This question was addressed through an analysis of NS utterances of negotiation which were produced as twenty native speaker-nonnative speaker (NS-NNS) dyads carried out four communication tasks in English. The analysis revealed that the NS utterances of negotiation offered data on L2 forms, the meanings they encoded, and some of the structural relationships into which they could enter. Negotiation thereby served the NNSs in ways that supplemented its two most widely acknowledged contributions to the L2 acquisition process, i.e., NNS comprehension of L2 input and modification of interlanguage output. However, the analysis also revealed that the NS utterances of negotiation contained few explicit cues which could help the NNSs distinguish between lexical and structural features of their interlanguage that were target-like and those which were not. Thus negotiation appeared to address NNS needs for data on features that were part of the L2, but offered no explicit information on which of their own interlanguage features did not belong to the L2.

Creese, Angela
Speech act variation in British and American English. 37-58.

Comparisons of British English and American English in the past have concentrated on similarities and differences at the phonetic, semantic, and syntactic level, while overlooking variation at the socio-cultural level. This paper attempts first to investigate how cultural differences are reflected in five speech acts: requesting, thanking, apologizing, complimenting and greeting. It reports on the results of a preliminary study in which eight Americans and four Britons were interviewed in order to elicit their perceptions concerning speech act differences between the two cultures. Then the focus of the paper shifts to a more comprehensive analysis of one of the above speech acts, namely complimenting. Compliment data was collected in both Britain and the United Sates and analyzed with a view to revealing differences and similarities in language use. Results show that despite sharing an essentially common linguistic system, the rules for complimenting differ significantly cross culturally. Given the current trends of teaching language and culture simultaneously and given that American and British dialects serve as models of language instruction throughout the world, it is argued that consideration be given to such differences by ESL textbook writers, teachers and students alike.

Farah, Iffat
School ka sabaq: Literacy in a girls' primary school in rural Pakistan. 59-82.

This paper (which is part of a larger ethnographic study) describes literacy learning practices in the context of a girls' school in rural Pakistan. In this context, school ka sabaq is recognized as involving reading and writing activities, and behavior particular to the institution of the school. A description of the reading and writing activities as well as the division of time and space in the school shows that literacy activities are reflected in and determined by the context of the particular institution within which they are learned and practiced. The author also describes school-community relations and the community's goals for girls' literacy.

Linnell, Julian D.
Instruction vs. interaction? A study of the acquisition of modals by beginning non-native speakers. 83-92.

This paper addresses the question of whether explicit instruction makes any difference in the acquisition of modals or whether opportunities for interaction are sufficient. The author tests eight non-native speakers and applies a covariance analysis a year later, underscoring the difficulties of quasi-experimental research in second language acquisition.

Porter, Felicia Lincoln
An examination of consultant-student discourse in a writing center conference. 93-108.

This paper looks at the discourse of writing center conferences as potentially different from classroom discourse. It also considers how the agendas of both participants are negotiated considering their various responsibilities and the structure of the writing center conference.

Spring 92-8(1)

Hymes, Dell
Inequality in language: Taking for granted. 1-30.

Social meaning includes evaluation of languages themselves. Linguists often say all languages are equal. This is true in regard to potential, not true of actual state. All varieties of language share with pidgins and creoles the condition of being the result of a particular history of use, specialization, elaboration and loss. There are historical reasons for conflating potential and actual. It defends against misleading notions. Still social change should be based on accurate knowledge of social reality. One can insist that all varieties are deserving of respect and study, without claiming that they are equal in what communities can do with them. Indeed, such a claim, when refuted by experience, may cast doubt on the call for respect. The

dialectic of potential and actual comes together in narrative. Every community has narrative, but its role is not everywhere the same. Oral narrative has an organization of lines and relations among lines that is largely out of awareness, and of great potential complexity and effect. Whether innate or not, such organization may well be universal. A conversational narrative from northeastern Philadelphia, analyzed here, shows implicit interlocking patterns of a kind pervasive in Native American languages of the Columbia River and found as well in song texts of the Finnish Kalevala tradition. The role of tense alternation is detailed. Such patterning adds to what can be known of universal properties of discourse. It can enhance respect for disregarded languages and varieties, and, for Native American texts, be a form of repatriation. Members of narrative communities can share in such analysis. Indeed, much that linguists discover and take for granted can be liberating for those to whom it is unknown. Such knowledge, what can be called "elementary linguistics," should be part of general education.

Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo
Standardization in Andean languages. 31-44.

This paper discusses current efforts to standardize the two major Andean languages: Quechua and Aymara. The author reflects on the difficulties in gaining consensus on standardizing the phonology, grammar and lexicon. He offers specific recommendations on how to deal with neologisms and proposes the creation of a pan-Andean entity to resolve the issue of standardization.

Meyer, Tom
Language, thought, and culture: Combining bilingual and bicultural/multicultural education. 45-56.

This paper argues for the development of a new type of combined bilingual and bicultural/multicultural program or curriculum based on recent research. Some issues concerning bilingual education are addressed, followed by a short review of the findings of ethnographers concerning cultural differences in the classroom. The applicability of the Whorf hypothesis to the field of language education is considered. Finally, observations done at Potter Thomas elementary school are incorporated to illustrate the need for and potential of the type of program proposed.

Ogorodnikova, Kira
Orthography in the target language: Does it influence interlanguage phonology? 57-68.

This study examines orthography as one source of non-targetlike phonetic output and focuses on the acquisition by speakers of American English of vowel reduction in Russian, a salient feature of the Russian pho-

netic system which is not reflected in the graphics of the Cyrillic script. The researcher conducted a structured interview and administered reading, arithmetic, and listing-from-memory tasks which included the same lexical items as those elicited in the interview. She drew the following conclusions from the data: 1) A non-targetlike pattern of vowel reduction can be attributed to the influence of the graphic representations of lexical units; 2)NS-NNS interaction influences phonetic accuracy; 3) The pattern of vowel reduction for highly familiar words remains constant across various tasks.

Teaman, Brian D.
Stress in Japanese English: Evidence from native perceptual judgments. 69-83.

In this pilot study looking at interlanguage prosody, normal and contrastively focused constructions in English were collected from four L1 English speakers and four L1 Japanese speakers. These productions were then played to six native English speakers to see how well they could identify the stress placement of the utterances. The judgments were used as a diagnostic tool to study the salient characteristics of problems in non-native stress productions. It was found that stress placement was easier to recognize in native speaker tokens, although it was not clear what features of stress were most important to the judges. Possible explanations and the directions they suggest for further study in second language prosody are given.

Fall 92-8(2)

Chick, Keith
Addressing contextual issues relevant to language teaching in South Africa: Implications for policy and practice. 1-16.

The widespread perception amongst advocates for learners from oppressed communities that linguists are incapable of addressing such issues as the unequal distribution of power in South Africa, or of making their discipline part of the process of democratic transformation is traced to the paucity of studies concerned with the role of language in the establishment, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. To illustrate the sort of research required, this paper focuses on studies of compliment giving and responding behavior in the fields of ethnography of speaking and critical language study. It also traces the implications of a fuller understanding of the relationships between language and power for language education policy and practice for post-apartheid South Africa.

Han, Chung-hye
A comparative study of compliment responses of female Koreans in Korean-speaking situations and in English-speaking situations. 7-32.

The first part of this paper reviews previous literature on speech acts, compliments, and compliment responses. Previous research shows that the same speech act is very likely to be realized quite differently across cultures. The second part of the paper examines the compliment responses of Korean females in English interactions and in Koeran interactions. The study found that Korean females responded differently when speaking in Korean or English; little evidence of pragmatic transfer was found.

Linnell, Julian, Porter, Felicia Lincoln, Stone, Holly, and Chen, Wan-Lai

Can you apologize me? An investigation of speech act performance among non-native speakers of English. 33-54.

In this study the performance of apologies among 20 non-native speakers (NNSs) of English and 20 native speakers (NSs) of English was examined. Two questions were addressed: How did NNSs' apologies compare with NSs' in identical situations? What relationship existed between the performance of apologies by NNSs and TOEFL scores? Eight verbal discourse completion tests designed by Cohen and Olshtain were administered by the researchers to the participants on a one-to-one basis. Each response was taped, transcribed, coded and analyzed (both quantitatively and qualitatively) by the researchers. No significant differences were found between NNSs and NSs in six out of eight situations. According to NS norms, explicit apologies, acknowledgments and intensifiers were significantly undersupplied by NNSs in two of the situations. No linear relationship was found to exist between TOEFL scores and the performance of apologies by NNSs.

Skilton, Ellen

Acquisition policy planning and litigation: Language planning in the context of Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia. 55-88.

This paper discusses language policy and educational practice in the context of a class action law suit filed on behalf of Asian students in Philadelphia concerning their linguistic and academic needs. It addresses both macro and micro perspectives in its discussion of litigation policy, acquisition policy planning, and Asian Americans in the United States. The analysis incorporates Rubin's (1971) and Fishman's (1979) frameworks as tools for understanding language planning processes in this particular context. In addition, orientations to language planning, the planners and actors involved in the process, and the specific curricular and personnel changes that resulted from this law suit are discussed in an effort to both understand the particular complexities of this situation as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of the relationship between litigation policy and acquisition policy planning in implementing programs for language minority students in American schools.

Stone, Holly
"The proper way to pray": Description of a Korean-American youth service prayer. 89-106.

A youth pastor's prayer was analyzed using techniques of microanalysis to reveal sociocompetencies required of Korean American teenagers in a youth church service. It was found that the markers of context within a service included changes in discourse, prosody, posture and body movements. The teenagers, who with the youth pastor responded to and created the context, strove to maintain "proper" prayer behavior even with the intrusion of a cat.

Strauch, Helen
Language status policy planning in Puerto Rico: Nonlinguistic aims as central rather than extra. 107-131.

On April 5, 1991, Spanish was made the sole official language of Puerto Rico, a move which replaced the 1902 Official Languages Act, which had put English and Spanish on an equal footing on the island, in name if not in practice. This paper analyzes this language status policy decision in terms of both its linguistic and extralinguistic purposes and implications. The new law is placed in the context of the political status of the island.

Spring 93-9(1)

Freeman, Rebecca
The importance of participant role in cooperative learning. 1-20.

This paper demonstrates a way that language teachers can use discourse analysis to understand how small group interaction defines students' participant roles relative to each other, and illustrates how the interaction can either limit or enhance students' opportunities to participate and negotiate meaning. Equipped with this understanding, the teacher can intervene to change limiting organizations. In addition, the teacher can encourage the students' development of useful strategies by making them explicit.

Iino, Masakazu
The trap of generalization: A case of encountering a new culture. 21-46.

The relationship between individual and institution is constructed in people's perceptions about other cultures and it is manifested in conversation. In this study, interactions between Americans and Japanese (using video footage and narratives) are investigated as examples of possible problems with generalizations and cultural misunderstanding across situations and cultures. The danger of generalizations about cultures is critically discussed. This leads to questioning about conventional sociolinguistic concepts such as speech community, rules of speaking, and appropriateness.

King, Kendall A. and Silver, Rita Elaine
"Sticking points": Effects of instruction on NNS refusal strategies. 47-82.

The refusal strategies of intermediate level second language learners and the potential for developing sociolinguistic competence through instruction is examined in this study. Six university student volunteers were divided into treatment and control groups. The treatment group received an instruction class focusing on sociolinguistic variables important in refusing in American English; the control group participated in a class on how to make conversation (small talk) with Americans.

Immediately prior to and one week following instruction participants completed a discourse questionnaire designed to elicit written refusals. Based loosely on the discourse completion test used by Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990), the questionnaire contained situation descriptions designed to elicit refusals, each followed by an uncompleted dialogue. The questionnaire contained situations in which requests and invitations were made by interlocutors of varied status and social distance. Two weeks after instruction participants were telephoned by a researcher who requested that the participants perform a burdensome activity at a time know to conflict with their schedules.

Results from the questionnaire indicate little effect of instruction. Data from the telephone interview reveal no effect of instruction. Of interest are the patterns of responses found in certain questionnaire situations and the large disparity between the written and spoken refusal strategies. We believe these two findings hold important implications for teaching and future research.

Lincoln-Porter, Felicia
Planning language-in-education in Arkansas: A case study. 83-104.

This paper will examine some aspects of language-in-education planning in the state of Arkansas and analyze some models of language planning that illuminate this case. I will give an overview of the state's educational planning process and describe how that process is then worked out in particular language planning situations. I will also examine Arkansas Language Planning in regard to Fishman's decision-making framework and Tollefson's centralized/decentralized distinction. In particular, this paper will examine the question: What is the place of language maintenance in a rural state where services are not tightly controlled and primary concern is with governing efficiency?

Loheyde, Kristin I.
Foreign language teaching at the University of Pennsylvania: A language planning case study. 105-126.

Is the University of Pennsylvania an example of successful foreign language planning? This paper addresses this question using J. Fishman's language planning framework to analyze various foreign language opportunities at the University. The Romance Language Department, the Penn language Center, the Office of International Programs and other foreign language opportunities at the University are described and analyzed. This analysis reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the University's attempts to "internationalize." Further suggestions to reach this goal are given.

Luna, Cathy
Story, voice, and culture: The politics of narrative in multicultural education. 127-142.

This paper explores the role of personal narrative in an education that is multicultural and social recontructionist. I begin by discussing the relationship between student voice, storytelling, and the transmission of culture. Next, I examine studies that look at the way students' narratives are currently received in the classroom, exploring the implications of their reception in terms of the politics of culture in the classroom and beyond. Finally, I imagine a possible world, exploring the potential of multicultural education to nurture students' voices and the potential of students' stories to transform society.

Fall 93-9(2)

Fishman, Joshua A.
In praise of my language. 1-12.

This is the text of a talk presented at the 1992 Nessa Wolfson Memorial Colloquium at the University of Pennsylvania.

Chen, Fred J.
How does social status affect the sequencing rules of other-introductions? 13-28.

The study examines the speech act sequence of introductions among native speakers of American English from a wide variety of occupations, educational backgrounds, and role relationships. Specifically, the focus of the study is on the sequencing of other introductions; namely, in an introduction that involves at least three participants, who gets introduced to whom? Three kinds of patterns are discussed based on collected data. First, four basic rules are formulated, each according to one distinct conditioning factor such as social status (when it is unequal), social distance, situational context, and the introducer's intent (when social status is equal). Next, four combined patterns with congruent factors are suggested; however, only the pattern regarding social status and situational context is confirmed due to the limited data set.

Citron, James L.
The role of ethno-lingual relativity in second language acquisition. 29-42.

The term ethno-lingual relativity is defined as a perspective that is not limited by one's own cultural and linguistic experiences, but rather is open to the contrasting cultural and linguistic patterns of other peoples. It is hypothesized that having an ethno-lingually relative perspective can facilitate one's ability to learn a new language. Support for this hypothesis drawn from second language research in language aptitude, motivation, personality differences, social and psychological factors, acculturation theory, and pragmatic competence is discussed.

Garcez, Pedro M.
Debating the 1990 Luso-Brazilian Orthograpic Accord. 43-70.

A case of corpus cultivation language planning is reported here: The 1990 Luso-Brazilian Orthographic Accord for the seven Portuguese-speaking countries discussed here, signed by representatives of all seven countries that have Portuguese as their official language. Socio-historical background is provided about Portuguese standardization and spread, the distribution of the language in the world today, and the development of its spelling norms. Discussion of the Accord and the ensuing debate is carried out through an analysis of the positions taken and of the arguments used by authors in a selection of scholarly and journalistic articles. These arguments are contrasted with Geerts, van den Broeck and Verdoodt (1997) who reported on a similar case. The author concludes that while most of the debate revolves around issues of linguistic efficiency, the Accord and its proponents are primarily concerned with political and diplomatic efficiency.

Mürau, Andrea
Shared writing: Students' perceptions and attitudes of peer review. 71-80.

The purpose of this study is to consider the effect of the peer review process on writing anxiety. Does peer review foster a feeling of equality between the writer and reader and thereby reduce the writer's apprehension, or does it actually have the reverse effect- increasing anxiety due to the tension created by showing a paper to someone other than the teacher?

Skilton, Ellen and Meyer, Thomas
"So what are you talking about?": The important of student questions in the ESL classroom. 81-99.

Although recent classroom research on second language acquisition has begun to focus on student discourse, there are still few studies which examine student questions and their influence in the classroom. Based on multiple observations of four classrooms in an intensive English program, the researchers investigate the factors which work together to shape question/response behavior among adult ESL learners. The coding and analy-

sis of question types shows that in addition to sex, nationality, and proficiency, participation structures and task types greatly influence the quantity and range of communication in the classroom.

Spring 94-10(1)

Freeman, Rebecca
Language planning and identity planning: An emergent understanding. 1-20.

This paper demonstrates how an ethnographic approach provides a principled means of studying the way in which one successful two-way Spanish-English bilingual elementary school has organized itself so that its language minority students can participate and achieve in school. First, I describe the ethnographic approach that enabled me to understand the schools perspective on their program, which sees discrimination as the problem for language minority students in mainstream U.S. schools and society, and their program as the solution to that problem. Then, I summarize the local theory of identity planning that emerged from my analysis.

DeCarlo, Mary Jean Tecce
Communicative functions of speech in a monolingual kindergarten. 21-32.

This paper describes the communicative functions of language in a monolingual public school kindergarten. Saville-Troike's six categories of communicative function are used to classify and examine the speech acts of the members of this community. The relationship of these functions to one another and to the purposes of the school are discussed.

King, Kendall
Acquisition planning, ethnic discourse, and the Ecuadorian nation-state. 33-46.

Language planning in Ecuador is best understood as one aspect or component of a larger dialogue between the state and the Indian population. Language planning from "above," referring to official, government sanctioned policy and practice, and language planning "from below" meaning grassroots efforts controlled by the Indian population, both aim to influence language behavior and both have ultimately been directed at social and political goals. The larger discussion is concerned with issues such as cultural autonomy, agrarian rights, and recognition of Ecuador as a pluricultural, multilingual nation. This paper will focus on what is perhaps the most immediate and widespread instance of language planning, acquisition planning, and reveal how it is a tool employed by dialogue participants to reach extra-linguistic aims; the changes in the national acquisition policy that have resulted from this process will also be outlined.

Loheyde, Kristen and Kunz, Nancy
"Yes I think it's you": A discussion of intercultural communication. 47-66.

This paper examines a cross-cultural service encounter; specifically an office interaction between an American office worker and an international student at an intensive English program, (EIP) and demonstrates how differences in social and grammatical constructions led to miscommunication. In addition, data from a (IEP) student questionnaire on interaction styles, and data from interviews with some of the (IEP) students, exemplify the many issues of assumptions and expectations in all kinds of cross-cultural interactions and indicate that greater understanding of diverse interaction styles is necessary to avoid miscommunication.

Mackey, Allison
Targeting morpho-syntax in children's ESL: An empirical study of the use of interactive goal-based tasks. 67-90.

This study is an investigation of the efficiency of interactive tasks at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures from child speakers of English as a Second Language (ESL). The objectives of the study were to examine whether task-based elicitation procedures were more efficient than interviews at eliciting specific targeted morpho-syntactic structures with children and to ascertain how far tasks designed to target specific morpho-syntactic structures achieved their aims. Results show that the tasks were more efficient than Informal Interviews at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures with child speakers of ESL and that the tasks were successful in targeting the structures for which they were designed.

Menken, Kate
Ethnic pride and the classroom: An ethnographic study of classroom behavior-norms and themes. 91-106.

Observed behavior is now recognized as a manifestation of a deeper set of codes and rules, and the task of ethnography is seen as the discovery and explication of the rules for contextually appropriate behavior in a community or group; in other words, culture is what the individual needs to know to be a functional member of the community. (Saville-Troike 1989: 7).

Fall 94-10(2)

Olshtain, Elite
From interpersonal to classroom discourse: Developing research methods. 1-8.

This is the text of a talk presented at the 1994 Nessa Wolfson Memorial Colloquium at the University of Pennsylvania.

Inoue, Aiko and Kubota, Mitsuo
Error treatment in a Japanese language classroom. 9-20.

The process of learning a language is a long and arduous one. The spoken word is only a part of communication and socio-pragmatics is increasingly recognized as a key element in language learning. More and more Americans are becoming aware of the gap between grammatical proficiency and cultural fluency as they strive to do business in our global economy. This research project examines the educational practices employed to prepare business students at the University of Pennsylvania to operate effectively in the Japanese business world.

Szpara, Michelle Y.
Cross-cultural communication in the Writing Center and in the tutoring session: A process of sensitization. 21-30.

The percentage of students who speak and write English as a Second Language (ESL) is steadily increasing on all college campuses. Although only 8% of the student body at the Pennsylvania State University are ESL students, 15% of the Penn State Writing Center clientele are ESL students. In the past, the Penn State peer tutor training program has only marginally addressed cross-cultural communication and has offered only general strategies for tutoring limited English proficient students. This research project explores the institutional history of serving ESL students at Penn State Writing Center. The resulting materials include a unit for training new tutors and a series of staff development exercises for use with current tutors. In order to disseminate this information to a wider audience, a presentation of the research findings was given at the Ninth Annual National Conference on Peer Tutoring in Writing on October 23, 1992, at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania, and an essay has been prepared for publication on the advancements made in the Penn State Writing Center to better serve the ESL population.

Spring 95-11(1)

Pica, Teresa, Lincoln-Porter, Felicia, Paninos, Diane and Linnell, Julian
What can second language learners learn from each other? Only their researcher knows for sure. 1-36.

This study asked whether second language (L2) learners' interaction with other learners can address three of their theoretical needs for L2 learning in ways that interaction with native speakers (NSs) has been shown to do, i.e., the need for L2 input modified toward comprehensibility, for feedback focused on form, and for modification of output. To address this question, the interaction of five dyads of English L2 learners was compared with that of five dyads of learners and English NSs on two communication

tasks. Results of the comparison revealed similarities in the types of modified input and feedback the learners were offered from other learners and NSS in their respective dyads and both the type and amount of output modifications they produced. Differences were found in the amount of modified input the learners were provided, with less modified input from other learners than from NSs. The study thus indicated that interaction between L2 learners can address some of their input, feedback, and output needs, but that it does not provide as much modified input and feedback as interaction with NSs.

Carrier, Karen
Collaborative effort between nonnative English speakers: A difference in strategies. 37-49.

An increasing amount of attention is being focused on contrastive pragmatics, the comparison of linguistic materials of one group of speakers across various languages and cultures around the world. Knowledge of the pragmatic aspects of language is needed in areas such as language teaching and intercultural communication. The investigation presented here involves a replication of Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs' 1986 study of referring as a collaborative effort. In this case, however, two nonnative English speakers describe and match a set of 12 abstract figures. The results show that nonnative English speakers who do not share the same native language or the same system for making definite reference use different kinds of strategies to minimize their collaborative effort in conversation from those native English speakers use.

Gordon, Daryl
Shifting gender roles in the acculturation process. 50-68.

Within a growing literature which examines the effects of the acculturation process on families, researchers (Ochs 1993; Buijs 1991) have begun to investigate how social identities and gender roles shift through acculturation. This paper presents a discourse analysis of a series of conversations between the author and Pha, a Laotian woman who has lived in the US with her husband and children since 1986. The analysis focuses on the nature of women's agency in Lao and U.S. cultures, highlighting Pha's perception of her changing identities as wife and mother. Implications which ESL educators may draw from a more nuanced understanding of the acculturation process are discussed.

Longcope, Peter
The universality of face in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory: A Japanese perspective. 69-79.

In 1978, Brown and Levinson published their politeness theory, claiming it to be universal. Since that time, much research has been conducted

to determine the limitations of this theory. This paper examines research which has been done on politeness strategies in Japanese to see how relevant the theory is now.

Nabei, Toshiyo
Learning grammar in the United States: A case of Japanese students. 80-96.

This is a pilot study on Japanese students' perceptions of grammar instruction in the United States. While many Japanese students attend American intensive language classrooms which have adopted communicative language teaching, they have mostly been exposed to traditional grammar-translation instruction at home. There seems to be little research on these students' perceptual gaps in reference to classrooms with different methodologies. Through questionnaire surveys and observations, Japanese students in American classrooms revealed positive attitudes toward communicative language instruction.

Fall 95-11(2)

Cohen, Andrew D.
The role of language of thought in foreign language learning. 1-24.

Methods of foreign language teaching and learning are often predicated on the principle that learners need to think as much as possible in a language that they wish to learn. This paper first explores what it means to think in a target language. Next, those factors which determine both unplanned and planned use of more than one language for thinking are discussed, and empirical data from a mini-survey and from the author's own language learning and language using experiences are presented. Thirdly, the paper considers the role of target-language thinking in improving language ability, again drawing on empirical data from the survey and from the author's experiences. Finally, we will look at mental translation in the reading of intermediate college French, the language of thought in an elementary-school Spanish immersion program, and thought patterns in the production of speech acts by college EFL students. After reviewing the responses from the mini-survey of multilinguals, from the author's own experiences, and from additional empirical studies, the conclusion reached is that there are definite benefits from making an effort to think through the target language. It is suggested that further research may ultimately produce a set of guidelines for learners as to the advantages and disadvantages of thinking through the native language while performing target language tasks.

Chen, Howard
UG Accessibility in Second Language Acquisition: Re-examining the Binding Parameter. 25-38.

This paper re-examines the controversial issues of the binding parameter in second language acquisition. In light of the findings from other related disciplines, including linguistics and first language acquisition research, this paper argues that the earlier claimed evidence which suggested L2 learners were able to access UG (universal grammar) by re-setting their binding parameter can be explained as the result of transfer from learners' first languages. From the transfer perspective, some problems regarding long-distance anaphora in earlier studies can also be resolved more convincingly. It is argued that more attention should be given to L2 learners prior knowledge in investigating the effect of UG in second language acquisition.

Garcez, Pedro
Helping Philippe: Constructions of a Computer-Assisted Language Learning Environment. 39-66.

This article offers an interpretive microanalysis of university students' work sessions with Philippe, a multi-media instructional program for foreign language learning. The program's potential as a computer-assisted language learning (CALL) environment is discussed here. Students in 12 groups were observed and interviewed during various Philippe sessions. These sessions were video-recorded. Qualitative analysis reveals different levels of actualization of Philippe's potential as an effective CALL environment. Microethnographic evidence points to an interplay of motivational as well as local interactional factors shaping the students' overall stylistic approach to utilizing the program and the construction of distinct learning environments. Sessions by the two most extremely contrasting groups of students are described in further detail. A complex set of interconnected contextual factors is found to explain their diverse levels of activation of the program's potential as a learning environment.

Kim, Julie
"Could you calm doum more?" Requests and Korean ESL Learners. 67-82.

This study examines the ways in which adult Korean ESL learners perform one speech act, the request, with particular attention to deviations caused by negative transfer. For this purpose, an oral discourse completion test including six request situations was given to three groups; one group of native American English request responses was used as baseline data while one group of Korean subjects served as nonnative English respondents and another group of Korean subjects served as native Korean respondents. In all three language groups, request realizations (directness levels and supportive moves) are significantly determined by the

sociopragmatic features of the situation context. However, nonnative speakers deviated from native English speaker norms in some situations due to the effect of the pragmatic rules of Korean.

Linnell, Julian
Can negotiation provide a context for learning syntax in a second language?. 83-103.

Evidence from a growing number of studies has revealed that linguistic modification occurs during negotiation. No research has yet examined whether such modifications assist the learning of syntax in a second language (L2). The present study asks if negotiation can aid one process in the learning of L2 syntax know as syntacticization. The three research questions addressed were: (1) To what extent are linguistic modifications during negotiation evidence of syntacticization? (2) To what extent do different negotiation moves affect syntacticization? (3) To what extent does negotiation affect syntacticization over time? Evidence suggests that negotiation would integrate and intensify certain key processes in L2 learning and that these would have an impact on syntacticization over time. Experimental/control treatments were contained within ten sessions as 19 L2 learners participated in communication tasks with native speakers through a computerized writing conference. Results indicated that negotiation could stimulate syntacticization and sustain the process over time. However, comparisons with one control group showed that syntacticization was independent of the type of treatment given.

Spring 96-12(1)

Pica, Teresa
Second Language Learning Through Interaction: Multiple Perspectives. 1-22.

Since its inception, the field of second language acquisition (SLA) has been both theory-less and theory-laden. It has been theory-less in that, as most major textbooks remind us, there has yet to emerge a single, coherent theory that can describe, explain, and predict second language learning. Yet it is theory-laden in that there are at least forty claims, arguments, theories, and perspectives that attempt to describe and explain the learning process and predict its outcomes (see Larsen-Freeman and Long 1992: 227). It is within this context that an interactionist perspective on language learning has thrived. As a perspective on language learning, it holds none of the predictive weight of an individual theory. Instead, it lends its own weight to any number of theories.

Kubota, Mitsuo
Acquaintance or Fiancee: Pragmatic differences in Requests between Japanese and Americans. 23-38.

Many researchers have indicated difficulties in acquiring a speech community's rules for appropriate language use. Learners' use of strategies, such as transferring the rules in their native language and overgeneralizing the target language culture, often make acquiring rules problematic. This study provides empirical findings on how the speech style used in making requests differs among native-speakers of Japanese, American learners of Japanese and Americans speaking English. Based on the findings, the researcher examines the type of strategies American learners use when they speak Japanese and discusses how these strategies become problematic.

Varghese, Manka and Billmyer, Kristine
Investigating the Structure of Discourse Completion Tests. 39-58.

A significant and long-standing dilemma in sociolinguistic research concerns the methods used to collect the data, the validity of different types of data, and to quote Kasper and Dahl (1991) " . . . their adequacy to approximate authentic performance of linguistic action." (p. 215). As early as 1966 Labov detected variability among the same subjects depending solely on the instruments used by the researcher to collect data. More recently, Kasper and Dahl noted that in the study of pragmatics, " . . . we are dealing with a double layer of variability" (p. 215): the first layer being that of sociolinguistic variability and the second layer being that of variability induced by the different data instruments. Some researchers have claimed that the most authentic data in sociolinguistic research is spontaneous speech gathered by ethnographic observation (Manes & Wolfson 1981). However, difficulties in relying solely on this method are well-documented (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989), and have led to the wide use of an elicitation procedure called the Discourse Completion Test (DCT). This paper examines the internal structure of Discourse Completion Tests and, in particular, investigates the effect of systematic modification to the DCT situational prompt on subject response.

Nabei, Toshiyo
Dictogloss: Is it an Effective Language Learning Task?. 59-74.

SLA studies on interaction support the hypothesis that negotiation is a useful context for language learning. Based on the assumption that learners' awareness of language form facilitates their language learning, Kowal and Swain (1994) claimed that dictogloss was an effective language learning task since the task provides a context for negotiation. This paper examines learners' interaction in the interactional stage of dictogloss to see how it might facilitate L2 learning. The learners' interaction suggests that the four procedural states of the task are all important for language learning.

Gordon, Daryl
ESL and Parental Empowerment. 75-93.

The impact of acculturation on immigrant and refugee families and on children's education has concerned many researchers. Some (Weinstein-Shr 1994; Smith-Hefner 1990) have examined literacy and educational achievement within the framework of the family and its pattern of acculturation. This research, conducted in an ESL class of Southeast Asian refugee parents, builds on this work, providing a description of the changes in parents' relationship to their children throughout the process of acculturation, focusing on the strategies these parents use to guide and assist their children in school. Finally, this paper draws implications regarding how the ESL class functions to empower parents in their interactions with their children's schools.

FAll 96-12(2)

Serafín M. Coronel-Molina
Corpus Planning for the Southern Peruvian Quechua Language. 1-28.

This paper presents a case study of corpus planning in a multilingual country. It begins with a discussion of multilingualism in general, and then moves to the specific case of Southern Quechua in Peru. The paper treats such issues as the graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation of Quechua, in the face of ever-increasing domination by the Spanish language. I present outlines of the efforts of the three major groups of linguists and other national and international scholars working on corpus planning in Peru, and the successes and pitfalls these various groups have encountered and/or created in their work. I conclude with an argument for greater collaboration between these groups, and a reiteration of the need to revalorize the Quechua language both within the Quechua population which speaks it, and within the dominant Spanish speaking

Mitchell A. Furumoto
Foreign language planning in U.S. higher education: The case of a graduate business program. 29-42.

This paper considers foreign language acquisition cultivation planning in U.S. higher education using the case of the Lauder Institute's Language and Cultural Perspectives Program, a graduate program in management and international studies. The Lauder case illustrates a successful program that is continually developing to meet the needs of its students. The case is placed in perspective within the field of language planning through discussion of its relation to relevant theories and frameworks. In addition, views toward languages and the role of Title VI funding are considered in the historical and current multilingual context of the US.

Craig Heim
Charting New Directions :of communication in a social service setting. 43-52.

The use of microethnography can provide valuable insights into the way communication activities are structured and the degree to which they are successful. As part of a research agenda microethnographic analysis allows for a close look at the relationship among linguistic, non-verbal, and proxemic cues exchanged by participants. This paper uses such an analysis in examining the interaction between a welfare caseworker and a client as they address the client s employment and educational options. Implications are discussed regarding the creation and maintenance of participants social roles as exemplified by their communicational behavior.

Mitsuo Kubota
Appropriacy Planning: Speech Acts Studies and Planning Appropriate Models for ESL Learners. 53-69.

Since the emergence of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1972a; 1972b), the language teaching field has focused on teaching appropriate language use in addition to general linguistic elements. Speech act studies have contributed to providing appropriate models for second and foreign language learners. In this paper, the effort toward the creation and use of appropriate models for learners in relation to the theoretical framework of planning in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is examined. Based on the findings of the examination and recent criticisms of the attitudes towards teaching appropriateness, directions for future research on communicative competence are proposed.

Spring 97-13(1)

Pica, Teresa
Tradition and Transition in Second Langauge Teaching Methodology. 1-22.

The field of second language teaching is in transition. Neither traditional methods of classroom instruction, nor more recent, communicative approaches, when used alone, have been able to address the scope and level of English proficiency required for participation in today's global community. What appears to be needed is a principled integration of the two. This paper will attempt to provide such an integration by drawing on theoretical principles, research findings, and classroom concerns. It will illustrate how components of traditional methods, including grammar instruction, correction, dictation, dialogue, and native language usage, can hold continued significance for language learning, when integrated into communicative questioning strategies, participation patterns, and interactive

materials. Throughout the paper, these illustrations of integration will be contextualized, described, and supported through references to research.

Haimanti Banerjee
Cultural consciousness in a language class. 23-30.

This paper explores how a pedagogic approach can contribute to language acquisition by being more than a mere vehicle for transmitting relevant linguistic material. It describes the effective use of Suggestopedia in a language class where the distinctive features of this approach are used to promote linguistic and cultural awareness of the target culture. By highlighting the significance of Suggestopedia, which is not a very popular approach, the paper also attempts to show how the effectiveness of an approach in language pedagogy is related to the various variables that constitute the context of the language class. Suggestopedia succeeded in the observed class as it addressed the needs of the students besides reflecting the cultural nuances of the target culture through its various distinctive features. promote linguistic and cultural awareness of the target culture. By highlighting the significance of Suggestopedia, which is not a very popular approach, the paper also attempts to show how the effectiveness of an approach in language pedagogy is related to the various variables that constitute the context of the language class. Suggestopedia succeeded in the observed class as it addressed the needs of the students besides reflecting the cultural nuances of the target culture through its various distinctive features.

Serafín Coronel-Molina
Language Policy: Status Planning for the Quechua Language in Peru. 31-48.

Quechua is an indigenous language of Peru that is slowly dying out, as speakers of Quechua realize that the only way they can better their lives is to turn their backs on their mother tongue and learn to speak the Spanish of the dominant class. In this paper, I present a case study of the status of Quechua in Peruvian society. I discuss some of the specific social and political causes contributing to Quechua language loss, detail the current functional domains that Quechua serves, and suggest some possible measures that could be attempted to improve its status. I also explore the relationship of the functional domains to Peruvian language policies, both overt and covert, and conclude with some projections on the future of the Quechua language.

Yuko Nakajima
Politeness Strategies in the workplace: which experiences help Japanese businessmen acquire American English native-like strategies? 49-70.

Discourse completion tests (DCT) and questionnaire were answered by

22 male speakers of American English and Japanese in order to answer the questions of 1) which experiences help Japanese business people acquire target-like politeness strategies and 2) how Japanese business people perceive the relationship between degrees of indirectness and politeness in Japanese and in English. Although many research studies show the pragmatic differences between languages, this study shows that in business settings, interestingly, male speakers of American English and Japanese perceive politeness strategies in a similar way. Furthermore, the results show that if learners are exposed to specific experience, they have more chances to acquire target-like politeness expressions rather than transferring their native pragmatics.

Anne Pomerantz
Who is telling stories and whose stories are being told? 71-82.

This paper addresses some recent work on narrative analysis, particularly as it relates to the research process. How do researchers use narrative to position themselves with respect to the participants in a study? How do researchers use conversational stories to construct and negotiate meaning? What does the absence of certain stories reveal about the researchers' structures of expectation and the frames operating within the community under study? This preliminary look at the role of narrative in research illustrates the complex, self-reflective process of conducting cross-cultural studies and speaks to the challenges of intercultural communication.

Recent LED Doctoral Graduates

While the primary purpose of the Working Papers in Educational Linguistics is to present works in progress by students and professors on a range of topics, as our field grows and becomes increasingly diverse, so we hope will WPEL. In that light, in this volume and in future volumes we will be recognizing doctoral graduates of the Language in Education Division of the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education

MAY 1996

John E. Briggs, Ph.D.

"The Friends' Central Fall Project: Teacher Conversation and Collaboration in the Construction of Thematic Curriculum."

Chair: Morton Botel

Current school restructuring initiatives aim at reducing teacher isolation, establishing more collegial environments, and promoting professional reflective practice. Thematic curriculum and inquiry approaches to learning are more congruent with current attempts to restructure school organization and teaching roles than transmission models of pedagogy. Instances in which teachers collaborate systematically and regularly to develop am implement curriculum are both rare and rarely documented, and case studies of successful collaborative school cultures and thematic programs are needed. This study describes and analyzes a program in which an entire elementary faculty has engaged in a collaborative, consensus-based process of interactive, thematic curriculum construction and implementation for nearly thirty years. Research and theory relevant to the culture of teaching and schools, thematic education, and the social construction of knowledge frames the investigation. The inquiry was conducted as a naturalistic observant-participant study over two project-year cycles, and tells the story of the Fall Projects from the viewpoint of the teachers who construct them. The data include taped faculty meetings and open-ended interviews with teachers, site documents, the investigator's journal, and field notes. Findings show that teachers value social interaction within literacy events above thematic content for building school community. Teacher collaborations are primarily a series of conversations in formal and informal speech events in groups ranging from all-school faculty meetings to dyads. Consensus is achieved through constructing community definitions and adopting inclusive strategies. Implementation is characterized by teacher improvisation and volunteerism. Teachers focus individual interpretations of themes around literature and often adopt imaginary classroom identities for role-playing to facilitate social interaction and literacy learning among students.

Many teacher accounts stress the importance of imaginative playing to learn. The findings suggest that collaborative construction of all-school, interactive, thematic curriculum by teachers develops and supports a collegial culture and strong school community. They also imply that constructing curriculum in terms of playing to learn within imaginary worlds facilitates literacy-based social interactions among teachers and students.

James L. Citron, Ph.D.

"The Cross-Cultural Re-Entry Experiences of Short-Term Study Abroad Students From the US."

Chair: Teresa Pica

This study sought to understand the re-entry experiences of one group of undergraduate students from the United States who returned to their home campus after spending fourteen weeks studying Spanish language and culture in Spain. Specifically, it sought to understand how they experienced re-entry and what the range and variation was in their experiences. It investigated how re-entry manifested itself as a problem or as a resource in the students' lives and what common categories of experience students' re-entry generated. It sought to identify longitudinal patterns of students' adjustment overseas and during re-entry as well as relationships between these patterns. Finally, it looked for relationships between students' integration into the host culture and their re-entry experiences.

Qualitative data from before, during, and after the overseas program were collected through participant observations, researcher-participant interviews, student-participant journals, and student-participant self-report ratings. These data were then considered collectively and analyzed for each participant.

The re-entry experience was found to manifest itself across four dimensions of students' lives. These included the physical dimension, the interpersonal dimension, the cultural dimension, and the personal dimension. Students' adjustment patterns in Spain and during re-entry were found to vary significantly by student and no generalizable relationships were found between them. A relationship was found, however, between how re-entry was experienced in each of these four dimensions and whether a student had lived in Spain according to the home culture's norms, the norms of the third culture that students created for themselves in Spain, or according to the host culture's norms.

To illustrate the findings, three students' experiences were presented as detailed case studies. The significance of the findings for study abroad orientation and program design were then explored.

Alison Mary Cook Sather, Ph.D.

"Writing Relationships Weaving Words: How Teachers Construct Knowledge in a Graduate Education Course."

Chair: Susan Lytle

Based on the premise that writing can be a way of learning both what one already knows and what one is encountering for the first time, this semester-long inquiry will explore the relationship between how pre- and inservice teachers use writing to learn in two contexts: a graduate course in Education which I teach, and their own classrooms. The primary research site will be my graduate class; data sources collected from the teachers' classrooms will expand and enrich interpretation of the primary data sources. The focus of exploration and analysis will be on the diversity across contexts and between individuals, who bring diverse backgrounds, knowledge, experiences, and expectations to the graduate class.

Both the graduate course and my inquiry will be constructed around the notion that all of the participants in the course are teacher-researchers: I will take full advantage of my own position as teacher-researcher; I will invite the members of the class to take full advantage of their positions as learners in a graduate class and teacher-researchers in their own classrooms; and I will integrate into the syllabus of the course activities conducive to each of us being of use to the others in our respective inquiries.

I will work within the frame of feminist methodology, which takes as central women's lived experiences, relationships between the researcher and the researched, and commitment to articulating and transforming experience. I plan to use qualitative research methods to collect and analyze the writing produced by all the participants in the graduate course, which will include: journal writings focused on the readings, written responses to journal entries (by both me and the participants), in-class writing activities, reflective journal entries kept by both me and the teachers who participate in my inquiry, and formal papers. Analysis of the writing will include explorations of the ways that the participants' different experiences, teaching contexts, teaching levels, and purposes for writing — primarily as they are articulated by the participants themselves — inform and are informed by the graduate class in which we have a shared experience.

My central aims in the class and in the inquiry are to record and analyze in writing our theories and experiences of learning and teaching, to problematize the assumptions behind those theories and experiences, and, in the words of Audre Lorde, to see our differences as "a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic" (quoted in Ellsworth, 1992:110).

Iino Masakazu, Ph.D.

"Excellent Foreigner! Gaijinization of Japanese Language and Culture in Contact Situations: An Ethnographic Study of Dinner Table Conversations Between Japanese Host Families and American Students."

Chair: Nancy Hornberger

Although study abroad programs have attracted many language educators and learners, little empirical research has been conducted on what is actually happening in daily interactions that non-native speakers are exposed to in the host country. This ethnographic study is one of the first studies for any language, and is the first such study for Japanese that focuses on linguistic and cultural learning natural settings during a homestay program. It explores the linguistic and behavioral features of the Japanese host families in the dinner table contact situations. Since most descriptive conversational studies on Japanese in the past have looked only at the speech of educated, middle-class speakers of the standard dialect, this study is one of the few that includes an examination of other Japanese codes (foreigner talk, regional dialects) that non-native speakers routinely encounter. Methodologically, the study employs video recordings of naturally occurring interactions, collected by what I call the "remote observation method," as well as conventional audio recordings, questionnaires and interviews. One of the major findings was that the Japanese hosts' presentation and interpretation of Japanese language was, mostly unconsciously, modified for the American guest students (gaijinization), the norms of which were different from those of their native situations. In addition to the gaijinization of language use, the Japanese hosts' presentation of Japanese culture and interpretation of the American students' behaviors were also modified (gaijinized) for the American guest students. On the theoretical side, it is hoped that this study provides opportunities to critically evaluate the sociolinguistic concept of "appropriateness" in language interaction with foreigners by paying more attention to the dynamic aspects of language use in contact situations. On the pragmatic side, the findings from this study suggest more effective preparations for participants in homestay settings.

Susan Elyce Zernik, Ed.D.

"Passage to Literacy: A Study of the Progress and Growth of Four Elementary Students with Learning Difficulties in a Child-Centered School."

Chair: Morton Botel

This study proposes to closely observe four students who have reading or learning difficulties within a curriculum which uses literature as its base. In contrast to the traditional focus of research on the education of remedial children, this study will look at the relationship between the school setting

and students' print-related views, attitudes and practices stemming from their encounters with a variety of texts and subjects. Ethnography practices will be used in order to get a more comprehensive and close view of students' school lives. Data will be collected over the course of a school year. Procedures will include interviews with the four students, their parents and teachers, classroom observations of the students and review of selected documents. Fieldnotes kept during observations and transcripts from taped interviews will be explored for major themes of the students' experiences in school. Conclusions will be drawn from the data regarding the ways the environment of the school relates to the students' literacy learning experiences, the students' perceptions of themselves as readers and learners and their conceptions of what constitutes reading.

DECEMBER 1996

Donna S. Armstrong, Ph.D.

"A Study of Basic Writers and Their Use of Word Processing Within a Holistic Classroom."

Chair: Morton Botel

This study describes the process of change which occurred over the course of a semester when basic writing students began to integrate word processing into their writing processes. The study was conducted in a remedial writing course at a two year college. The study took place over the course of a fifteen week semester. Using qualitative research, this learning environment was examined through the lens of the teacher as well as through the lens of students. The data includes audio tapes of classroom experiences, teacher and student journals, audio taped interviews with students, and surveys of student attitudes.

Several bodies of literature were consulted in relationship to this study. The literature on Basic Writers contributed to identifying this group of students. The literature related to Computers and Writing instruction illuminated the positive and negative aspects of integrating technology into the learning environment, and the literature on teacher research contributed to the research design by explaining the validity of a classroom teacher examining her own practice.

The study revealed that basic writing students valued using word processing for writing instruction largely because work processing was an emblem of access to the dominant culture. The nature of the holistic learning environment provided students with the ability to explore issues within their own individual writing processes. The study further revealed that the teacher's perceptions of a holistic environment changed over the course of the semester, and a holistic environment was redefined by the teacher as

a flexible environment which meets student needs, even if those needs involve direct instruction.

Hao-Jan Howard Chen, Ph.D.

"A Study of the Effect of Corrective Feedback on Foreign Language Learning: American Students Learning Chinese Classifiers."

Chair: Teresa Pica

Issues regarding the role and contributions of corrective feedback (CF) for language learning have been central to second language acquisition (SLA) theory and pedagogy. To address these issues, this study investigated the effect of different types of CF on the acquisition of Chinese classifiers by 38 American college students. Three research questions were posed: Does the immediate effect of CF on learner accuracy generalize across different tasks? Can the short-term impact of CF be sustained over time? Do different types of CF have different effects?

Four groups of subjects performed a computer-mediated exercise on Chinese classifiers. Subjects in three experimental groups received different types of corrective feedback when they made errors: The "metalinguistic group" was given correct answers and explanations; the "explicit rejection group" was told that responses were wrong; and the "modeling group" was given correct answers. The control group received no feedback. All subjects were tested with both an oral and a written post-test. Post-tests were administered immediately after treatment and again six weeks later.

There were three major findings. First, the positive effect of CF on learner accuracy generalized across different post-testing tasks. Second, short-term effect of CF was not sustained after a six-week interval. Third, both the metalinguistic group and the modeling group outperformed the explicit rejection group in the short-term. However, over the longer term, the metalinguistic group outperformed the explicit rejection group only in the written task.

The results of this study lend strong support to the view which considers CF to be facilitative. Nevertheless, the rapid decay of the impact of CF also suggests that follow-up activities might be essential for maintaining any short-term gains. Moreover, the finding that metalinguistic input was most beneficial for learners suggests modifications of current claims that metalinguistic input is not useful for SLA. Despite these findings, limitations in the research design (e.g., the amount of treatment and the length of the interval between tests), however, suggest that additional research is needed to study the roles and contributions of CF for SLA, especially with respect to its long-term impact.

Hazel Donnelly Cooper, Ph.D.

"Developing Literacy in a Remedial College Classroom Setting: A Study of Writers in a Community College Basic Skills Program."

Chair: Brian Street

This one year study investigates college level remedial writing students during the Fall 1993 semester at a suburban open-access community college. Five students with varied backgrounds who were identified as underprepared and placed in an intensive writing course participated in the classroom based research.

Traditional research has tended to give expansive often categorical rationales for why student writing fails to reach college level criteria. The ethnographic focused view which includes background and cultural factors as well as student writing has not been encouraged or advanced to offer educators a clearer image of the remedial writer.

This multi-case study approach involves interviews, field study methods, and teacher/researcher observations. The data was analyzed to determine the attitudes of the student writers and characteristics of their literacy practices. Findings suggested that students classified as remedial entered the community college writing classroom with preconceived expectations concerning the difficulties involved in academic writing.

Beyond these pre-established expectations, each of the five student participants held individualized perspectives which underscore the vast complexities of the interrelated dynamics of school, family culture and community. Expectation confusion and labeling resulted in low self esteem which impeded motivation and writing success.

The five students demonstrated minimal changes in their attitude toward writing . They appeared to leave the course viewing writing as either difficult or an unappealing general requirement.

Three of the students passed the course and went on to the next level of composition. Two graduated with a two year degree. One dropped out after two more semesters. One student now attends a four year institution, and still struggles with written assignments.

Two never returned to the college. They had no plans to return. One has taken a full time job in a factory and the other cannot be located.

The findings point toward a very real need for a radical, enlightened, and educated approach to the college's commitment (particularly in respect to curriculum) to remediation, the teacher's preparation and view of

the remedial writer, and the remedial writers' needs as they enter the open door to the academic world.

Wilma Burnette Kerr, Ed.D.

"Curriculum Innovation and the Change Process in an Urban Comprehensive High School: A Focus on Five Teachers in Major Subject Areas."

Chair: Brian Street

This study was an investigation of high school teachers response in the School District of Philadelphia to the introduction of Standardized Curriculum innovations in the school district. The innovations instituted by the district include a mandated curriculum, pacing schedule, citywide curriculum referenced tests, and promotion policy. The focus of the study was on five teachers in the major subject areas of English, American History, biology, general mathematics, and reading in a single high school. In addition, other key informants included the principal, two vice-principals, four department heads and a reading chairman. It was necessary, therefore, to employ qualitative research methodology using informal questionnaires, observations, personal journals, interviews, and documents to gain an understanding of teachers within the context of their practice. As a result, the investigation revealed a phenomenological perspective of teachers' actions. Analysis of the data is organized under three main categories: "perceptions of change"; "leadership"; and "implementation". The findings suggest that change does not result because it is mandated by central administration, but certain factors such as external and school based support, perceptions of autonomy, flexibility in classroom practice, collaboration, participation in curriculum development, professional development, academic preparation and experience have an influence on teachers' response to change. When these factors obtain, teachers respond favorably to change.

Thomas W. Meyer, Ph.D.

"Language and Power in Disagreements: Analyzing the Discourse of Male, Female, and Male/Female Couples."

Chair: Nancy Hornberger

Previous research on language, gender, and power has centered around whether differences in the speech of men and women arise because men and women come from different cultures or because one gender is more dominant and powerful in society. Moreover, previous research on language and gender has been done from a heterosexual perspective assumed gender to be static. This resulted in researchers placing more importance on the sex of the participants and not enough on other traits of the interlocutors or the contexts in which language occurred. This study, therefore, first examines language in context, focusing on the disagreements of three

gay, three lesbian, and three heterosexual couples to gain further insights into the interrelatedness of language, gender, and power. Couples were observed for one year and data were collected using ethnographic methods, including audio recordings and observations of in-home conversations, observations of the couples in public settings, and interviews. Using a framework adapted from Hymes (1972, 1974) and from researchers of verbal conflict (Eisenberg and Garvey 1981; Maynard 1985), a discourse analysis is conducted to investigate how gays, lesbians, and heterosexuals verbally express power during disagreements. Taken into account are the participants' views concerning the data and findings and how situational factors affect the expression and interpretation of power in language. This points to the complementary nature of ethnographic methods and discourse analysis in sociolinguistics, explains the importance of simultaneous multiple interpretations of power, and provides insight into how verbal strategies are used by gays, lesbians, and heterosexuals to express power during disagreements. In addition, unlike previous research, difference and similarities of gays, lesbians, and heterosexuals and men and women are discussed. Finally, areas for further research are highlighted.

Karen Gail Smith, Ed.D.

"Taking the Challenge: A Journey Toward Change in Four Teacher's Language Arts Programs Through Staff Development."

Chair: Morton Botel

Research validates the importance of staff development in creating and supporting pedagogical change. This study investigates four elementary teachers' responses to the changes in curriculum and practice as a revised language arts program evolved. A volunteer staff development program introduced the theories and practices of a literature-based reading program for the primary grades.

Using a case study approach, the staff development facilitator investigated what happens to teachers in a collegial setting who self-select topics in professional literature to inform their teaching. Few studies chronicle teachers' struggles with paradigm shifts in language arts in order to understand teachers' needs. In Hanover Townships schools, changes were forcing faculty to adapt: change in curriculum, change in instructional practices, change in the role of the teacher, and change in staff development practices. This study was designed to amplify teachers' voices as they experienced these changes during a thirteen week staff development seminar.

Meeting on a weekly schedule, teachers attended the "Seminar in Literacy" to discuss professional materials and to understand their underly-

ing theories. Teachers read articles and books, reflected daily in journals, and conducted an individual research project within their own classrooms. The staff development facilitator, who is also the research coordinator, guided the meetings and supported the teacher research. Each meeting was designed to elicit authentic responses to events within the school, to experience problem solving techniques, and to generate an enthusiasm for change. Teacher reflections were the means for observation and analysis.

Teachers were introduced to the concept of qualitative research and were team members throughout the staff development program. All field notes, journals and reflections, as well as interviews and audio- and videotapes, formed a database that was analyzed for themes, patterns and categories.

Erickson (1985) poses the question: What is happening in the field setting? As a reading specialist in the same building with these teachers I studied daily what happened and how it occurred. As a participant and as an observer, I have tried to be honest and accurate in my interpretation of the events and documents. This study was designed according to research in successful methods for staff development. What emerged most powerfully throughout this study was the dedication and desire for professional growth that teachers voiced in a setting that offered them little time and support for staff development.

Jane M. Vardaro, Ph.D.

"The Consultative Role of the Reading Specialist: Research Informing Change."

Chair: Susan Lytle

This research study describes the evolution of the role of the reading specialist from remedial tutor to consultant/facilitator while attempting collaboration with classroom teachers in an effort to foster change. There are four changes being initiated and described in this inquiry: inclusion of the reading specialist in the classroom, integration of the curriculum, utilization of diverse and heterogeneous groups, and development of authentic teacher assessments. The literature and reassert that is relevant to this inquiry involves the reflective practitioner, whole language theory, and the historical role of the reading specialist. In this research, the attempts at change are both bottom-up and collaborative. This is an interpretive research project that is modeled after a framework for teacher-research. The project involved the reading specialist attempting to collaborate with two classroom teachers, one in grade one and the other in grade three; it took place over one school year in a suburban school district using the observant-participant design. The two case studies, while confronting that same aspects of change, reveal in the conversations the significance of the non-uniform practice of teachers. Both case studies, while unique in their ap-

proach to change, suggest that the theory of the whole language classroom is conducive to the inclusion of the reading specialist. The data included in the study were dialogue journals, audio and video tapes, and samples of student writing. The conversation s form the dialogue journals and excerpts from the students' work are woven together throughout the description to ensure that both the teachers' and students' voices are heard in this account. In confronting the successes and problems encountered while attempting to make changes in the classroom practice, both teachers confirmed that they felt empowered in their construction of knowledge through the collegial dialogue, and expressed their desire for the conversation not only to continue, but to be extended to other colleagues in the school.

Information for Our Contributors:

The goal of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers included in *WPEL* are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

It is our intention that *WPEL* will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. *WPEL* is sent to more than one hundred universities world-wide.

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3.Articles not accepted for the current issue may be rewritten and resubmitted for a following edition. A recommendation to rewrite is not a guarantee of future publication in *WPEL*.*WPEL* is not responsible for returning articles that have been sent to our office. Please, do not send an original paper, and do not send articles on diskette until asked to do so.

4.This journal recognizes the difficulty in using gender-neutral language. However, we are committed to avoiding the clumsy he/she construction and the use of plural pronouns for the singular antecedent. Therefore, we encourage authors to find their own solutions within these guidelines.

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